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Hakluytus Posthumus
or
Purchas His Pilgrimes

In Twenty Volumes

Volume XVII

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Hakluytus Posthumus

or

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others

By

SAMUEL PURCHAS, B.D.

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VOLUME XVII

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THE SEVENTEENTH VOLUME

OF

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning Voyages to and about the Southerne America, with many Marine Observations and Discourses of those Seas and Lands by Englishmen and others; Voyages to and Land-Travels in Florida

Chap. IIII.

The travels of Hulderike Schnirdel in twentie yeeres space from 1534. to 1554. abbreviated.

§. I.

His Voyage up the River of Plate, foundation of Townes, their expedition up the River of Parana and Parabol; the people of these parts.

ANno 1534. I went from Antwerpe to Cadiz, and there found fourteene ships furnished for the River of Plate. There were 2500. Spaniards, 150. high and low Dutch, unto which I joyned my selfe. They set forth in September the same yeere, and (having had some trouble at Palma, one of the Canaries, about stealing of a Citizens Daughter by George Mendoza, a kinsman of the Commander Don Pedro de Mendoza) arrived at the River Jenero. They call these Indians, Toupin. Here we abode fourteene daies, and Petro Mendoza our Generall then gave commandement to John Osorius his sworne Brother, to take charge of us in his steed, because hee being weake, and consumed in his members, was much troubled almost with continuall sicknesse and diseases. But when a little after the government received, John Osorius had beene falsly accused, and by forgerie, to Mendoza his sworne brother, as though he had gone about seditiously to stirre the company against him,

Toupin.

Mendozas crueltie. the said Mendoza commanded other foure Captaines (to wit) John Eyoldas, John Saleisen, George Luchsam, and Lazarus Saluascho, that having stabbed him with a Dagger, they should expose him as a Traitor in the middle of the Plaine, to the view of all beholders. And straightly commanded it publikely to be given in charge, that no man upon paine of death disquiet or trouble himselfe in the behalfe of Osorius, for if he did, he should be no more respected, whosoever, or of what condition soever he were. But hee was altogether injuried. For hee was an honest man, and a stout and couragious Warriour, and courteous, liberall, and verie beneficiall to his fellow Souldiers.

6. Departing hence with our ships and going to the River of Plate, we came into a pleasant River, which *R. Parana Urassa.* they call Parana Urassa. It is farre from the mouth of the River where the Sea leaves it, and is fortie two leagues broad. And from the River Janero to this River are two hundred and fifteene leagues. Heere wee came to a Haven called Saint Gabriel, and all our fourteene ships anchored in the River Parana. But because we were to abide in the greater shippes on the water, a Musket shot from the Land, our Generall Petro Mendoza gave commandement to set the people and Souldiers aland in the lesser Skiffes or Boats, which they call Potten, then prepared for that purpose. So by the grace and blessing of God, in the yeere of Christ *R. of Plate.* 1535. wee happily arrived at the River of Plate, and there we found a row of houses, or an Indian Village, wherein there were about 2000. men, whom they call *Zechuruas.* Zechuruas, who eate no other thing, save fish and flesh. And goe all naked, but that the women cover their secrets, with a thinne piece of Cotton-cloth, which reacheth from the Navell to the knees. They therefore at our comming, leaving the Towne, fled away with their wives and children. Then our Generall Mendoza commanded the people to be shipped againe, and conveied over to the other side of the River Parana, where the bredth

of the River extendeth it selfe no more then eight leagues.

7. In this place wee built a Citie, which for the wholsomenesse of the Aire wee called Bonos Æres. *Buenos Aeres built.* We brought with us also out of Spaine seventie two Horses and Mares, in our fourteene ships. We found also another Village in this Countrie, which the Indians inhabit, whom they call Carendies, of whom there were about 3000. men, together with their wives and children. *Carendies.* These also as the Zechuruas are covered from the Navell only unto the knees, who brought us fish and flesh to eate. These Carendies have no Proper and setled dwellings, but wander in the Countrie hither and thither, almost as our Cingari,* and Zigeuneri. When they take their journey in the Summer, they oftentimes travell thirtie leagues and more by Land, and finde not a drop of water to drinke. If they light upon a Stagge or other wilde beast, when they have killed it, they drinke the bloud thereof: sometimes they find a Roote, which they call Cardes, and chewing that, they quench thirst. But that they drinke bloud, this only is the cause, for that they want other drinke, and peradventure without this, they should die for thirst. These Carendies for fourteene daies imparted liberally of their povertie, and daily brought fish and flesh unto our Campe, one day only excepted, wherein they came not to us at all. Therefore our Generall Don Petro Mendoza sent our Corrigidor Jan. Baban and two Souldiers unto them (for these Carendies abode foure leagues distant from our Campe) but they so intreated them when they came unto them, that they sent them home all three soundly cut and mangled with stripes. But when our Generall Petro Mendoza understood these things by report of the Judge: who for this cause raised a tumult in our Campe, he sent his owne naturall Brother Don Diego Mendoza against them with three hundred Souldiers, and thirtie readie light Horsemen, among the which I also was one, straightly charging him to kill, and

[IV. vii. 1348.]

*Gipsies.

take all the said Indian Carendies, and possesse their Towne. But when we came unto them, there were now some 4000. men gathered together; for they had sent for all their familiars, and friends to helpe them.

The fight or skirmish with the Indian Carendies.

8. When we set upon them, they so resisted us, that they put us to trouble enough that day: for they slue our Captaine Don Diego Mendoza, and sixe Gentlemen with him, and of the horse and foote about some twentie. But on their part there fell about 1000. men. Therefore they fought couragiously and stoutly against us, which wee felt by experience. The weapons of these Carendies are Bowes, and a kinde of Dart like the staffe of a Speare of a middle length, whose point they arme with a flint called a Marchasate, with an edge in forme of the three edged Thunderbolt. They have also bowles of stone hanging at a long coard, somewhat like our plummets of Lead. These bowles they so cast about the feet of Horses, or Stagges, that they are constrained to fall. After this manner they slue our Captaine, and the Gentlemen with these bowles, which I my selfe beheld, but they slue the Footmen with their Darts: yet by the grace of God (to whom be praise) we overcame them in battaile, and possessed their Towne. But we could take none of these Indians; their wives and children also, before we assailed them by warre had fled into another Village. We found nothing in this Towne of theirs, but Otter skins, plentie of flesh and flowre, and the trane of fish. Abiding therefore three daies we remained in that place, and after returned to our Campe, leaving 100. men there, who in the meane time should fish with the Indians Nets, to maintaine our Souldiers more plentifully: for the waters there are marvellous full of fish: for three ounces only of flowre made of fine Wheate were distributed to everie one for one daies victuall, and everie three daies one fish. This fishing lasted two moneths, and if any would eate fish otherwise, he must seeke them on foot foure leagues off.

Of the buildings of the Citie of Bonos Aeres, and of the famine which they indured there.

9. When we returned to our Campe, they that were fit for labour among the people, were separated from them that were fit for warre, that every one might be put to service agreeable unto him. The Citie therefore began to be built there, and a wall of earth to be raised about it, to the heigth of a Speare or Javelin, and in the Citie a firme and strong house for our Generall. The wall of the Citie was three foot broad. But that which was built to day, the next day fell downe againe. For the people wanting food, lived in great scarcitie, so that many died of famine, nor could the Horses satisfie them. There was not plentie enough of Dormice, or other Mice, or Serpents, or other wild beasts, to asswage this lamentable famine and unspeakable povertie. Not so much as shooes and other Leather could avoid this rage of devouring. It fell out also at that time, that three Spaniards having stolne a Horse, did privily eate him. Which as soone as it was discovered, they were grievously tormented, and questioned touching the fact, and when they confessed it, they were condemned to the Gallowes. When they were hanged, three other Spaniards consorted themselves together, who the same night going to the Gallowes, cut off the legges of them that were hanged, and cut out pieces of flesh from their bodies, that in their Cottages they might asswage untollerable hunger by eating thereof. A certaine Spaniard (through exceeding hunger) eate his owne brother, who died in the Citie of Buenas Aeres.

Miserable famine.

How some sailed up the River of Parana, or the River of Plate.

10. When therefore our Generall Don Petro Mendoza saw, that the people could no longer be sustained and preserved in this place, he presently commandeth foure small Barkes which they call Brigantines, or small men of warre, and are carried with Oares to bee made readie, whereof everie one will hold fortie men: there were also three other lesse called Potten. These seven little Vessels therefore being made readie and dispatched, our Generall commanded the company to be mustered, and George Luchsam with 350. readie and able men, to

saile up the River, and seek out the Indians, that we might get provision of victuals and food. But the Indians understanding before of our presence, burnt their provision of victuall, and whatsoever was good to eat, together with their Villages, and runne away. But wee in the meane season got no food, and for everie daies allowance unto everie man, one ounce and an halfe of bread was distributed, whereby it came to passe, that in this journie the halfe part of our Souldiers perished through famine. Wee therefore of necessitie returned to the said Towne where our Generall was, who greatly wondred, that so small a number of people should returne, seeing we were no more then five moneths absent, and he demanded of our Captaine George Luchsam to declare unto him what hee had done in this journie, who signified, that they who were wanting, died of famine, because the Indians had consumed all the food with fire, and after run away themselves.

[IV. vii. 1349.]

How the town of Buenas Aeres was besieged, assaulted, and burnt.

11. All these things falling out thus as I have said, yet we continued together in the Towne of Buenas Aeres, a whole moneth in great want, expecting while the furniture of our shippes should be finished. In the meane while, in the yeere 1535. the Indians invade us and our Citie of Buenas Aeres, with the strength of twentie three thousand men, and in their Armie there were foure distinct Nations (to wit) Cariendes, Bartennis, Lechuruas, and Tiembus. The purpose and principall intension of all these was, to kill us all. But praise and glorie bee to God, who saved the greatest part of us safe from destruction. For together with the Captaines, and Ancients, and other Souldiers, there were not above thirtie men of ours slaine.

Foure Nations of Indians.

Their fights & weapons.

When therefore they first came to our Citie of Buenas Aeres, some of them ranne furiously to assault it, others cast fierie Darts upon our houses, all which (except our Generals house which only was covered with Tile) were only thatched: and by that meanes all our Citie, together with all the houses was consumed with the flames, even

from the foundation. The Weapons or Darts of these Indians are made of Reed, which when they are cast or shot out, take fire in the point. They have a kind of wood also whereof they make their Darts, which if they bee fired before they be cast, are not quenched, but set houses (covered with Thatch) on fire, and so those that touch or joyne together burne together.

In this fight these Indians burnt us also foure great shippes, which were halfe a league distant from us on the water. But the Souldiers who were in these ships, when they saw that mightie tumult of the Indians, betooke themselves to flight from these foure shippes, into three others, which rode not farre from these, and were furnished with Ordnance. They therefore when they saw the foure ships burne, began to defend themselves, and eagerly to assault the Indians, and let flee the bullets which caused them to leave the assault and depart, giving rest unto the Christians. All this was done on the Feast of Saint John the Evangelist. In the yeere 1535. *Foure ships burned.*

12. All these things being past and done, all the people went into the ships, and our Generall Don Petro Mendoza made John Eyollus his Deputie, creating him Lieutenant Generall, delivering over unto him the whole government of all, as also of the people. He taking a view of the company, of two thousand five hundred men, which came from Spaine together in ships, hee found only five hundred and sixtie alive: all the rest were dead, whom for the most part the intollerable famine had consumed. *They muster their Souldiers, and build ships to goe further.* *The most of* 2000. *died of famine.*

After this, our Lieutenant John Eyollus, commandeth eight little Barkes, which they call Brigantines and Pott, speedily to be built. And of five hundred and sixtie which remained alive, hee tooke unto him foure hundred men: leaving the other one hundred and sixtie to take charge of the foure great ships; over whom hee set John Romero the chiefe commander, leaving provision for a whole yeere, so that foure ounces of bread were distributed to every man for his daily allowance.

13. After this our Lieutenant John Eyollus with his

foure hundred Souldiers, which hee had with him, among whom also Petro Mendoza our Generall was, saileth up the River of Parana, in the Brigantines and Potts, furnished for this purpose, untill wee came unto the Indians, which was performed in the space of two moneths, from our comming forth of the Citie of Buenas Aeres, so that wee were now eightie foure leagues distant from our said burnt Citie. When therefore we were not above foure leagues from these people (which they call Tiembus, but wee called them Bona speransa) and they understood of our comming before, about foure hundred men of them came peaceably unto us in their Boats, which they call Canoas, in every one of the which Canoas sixteene persons sate. When therefore we met together in the River, our Generall gave the Captaine of these Indians of Tiembus, (whom they call Zchara Wassu) a shirt, a red Cap, a Hatchet, and certaine other things. Which presents beeing received, the said Zchara Wassu brought us into their Towne, setting before us fish and flesh plentifully, and sufficient food, so that we were exceeding well contented. For if this Voyage of ours had continued yet but ten daies longer, we should all have died with famine, as even now in this Voyage of foure hundred men, who came together in the ships, fiftie were dead.

They goe up the River.

Tiembus.

These people of Tiembus, weare on either nostrill a blue starre artificially made of a white and blue stone; they are large men, and of a tall stature, but the women aswell young as old, are very deformed with torne faces, and alwaies bloudie: from the Navell to the knees they are covered with Cotton-cloth, the rest is naked. This people hath no other meate save fish and flesh, nor ever lived with any other thing. The strength of this Nation is thought to be fifteene thousand men or more. The Skiffes or Boates which they use are made of a Tree eightie foote long, and three broad, which (as the Fishermens Boats of Germanie) are rowed with Oares, save that their Oares are not bound with Iron.

A.D. 1534-54.

14. We abode foure whole yeeres in the foresaid Village or Towne, but our Generall or Admirall Petro Mendoza, by reason of his extreame and continuall sicknesse, in that hee was able neither to stirre hand nor foote, and had spent in this journey of his owne about fortie thousand Ducates of ready money, would no longer stay with us in this Towne, but returneth in two Brigantines to Buenos Aeres, to the foure greater Shippes, and there taking two of them, and fiftie Souldiers, he intended to returne into Spaine, but scarce half the journey performed, the hand of almightie God so smote him, that he miserably died. But before his departure he certainly promised us, that he would doe his best, as soone as he or the Ships returned into Spaine, that two other Shippes should be sent backe to the River of Plate (which by his will he had so ordained, and was faithfully also performed) furnished with Souldiers, provision of victuals, Merchandise, and other things necessary for such a voyage.

Don Petro Mendoza being about to return into Spaine dieth in the way. [IV. vii. 1350.]

15. The name of the Commander of these two Shippes was Alfonso Gabrero, who also brought with him two hundred Spaniards, and provision for two yeares. He arrived at the Towne of Buenas Aeres, in the yeare 1539. where we left the other two Shippes (when wee departed) together with one hundred and sixtie men. They presently sent away a Shippe into Spaine, provided for this purpose (for so the Counsell of the Emperours Majestie commanded) and delivered orderly and at large to the said Counsell the state and condition of these Countries, and people, and other circumstances. After this, our Generall John Eyollas consulting with Alfonso Gabrero, Martino Don Eyollas, and the rest of the Captaines, judgeth it to be most convenient to muster the Souldiers; which being done, together with ours, and those who came first from Spaine, five hundred and fiftie men were found; of these they choose unto them foure hundred men, leaving one hundred and fiftie in Tiembus.

Alfonso Gabrero is sent away from Spaine towards the river of Plate.

16. By this order of the Captains, we saile up the river Parana, with these foure hundred men, shipped in eight

They saile further up the River of Parana toward Curenda.

Brigantines, seeking another River, whereof we were told, called Parabol, at the which the Carios dwell, for these were reported to abound with Turkish graine, and roots, of the which they make wine, and also fish, and flesh, and Sheepe as bigge as Mules, and Harts, Hogges, Estridges, Hennes, and Geese. Departing therefore from the Haven of Bona Speranza, with our eight Brigantines, sailing foure leagues the first day, we came to a Nation called Curenda, which live with flesh and fish. This Iland is 12000. strong of men fit for warre, and hath great store of Canoes. This Nation is like the former Tiembus, with little stones hanging dangling in their noses. The men also are of a tall stature, but the women, as well yong as old, deformed, with rugged and bloudy faces: And are no otherwise apparelled then they of Tiembus, to wit, covered with a Cotten cloath from the navell to the knees, as is before said. These Indians have great plenty of other skinnes. These men did liberally communicate unto us of their poverty, or of that little they had, Fish, Flesh, Skinnes, to whom contrariwise wee gave Glasses, Beades, Looking-glasses, Combes, Knives, and Fish-hookes, and abode with them two dayes. They gave us also two men of Carios, who were their captives, to be our Guides and Interpreters.

R. Parabol. Carios.

Sheep of Peru.

Curenda.

Description of these Savages.

17. Sailing further hence, we came to another Nation called Gulgaisi, which is able to bring 40000. men for warre, into the field. This Nation also hath two stones at their nose; it was thirty leagues distant from the Island Curenda, and they and the inhabitants of Tiembus have the same language. They dwell upon a Lake sixe leagues long, and foure broad, situate on the left side of the River Parana. We staied here foure daies, and these men imparted to us of their povertie, and we did the like to them: proceeding further thence, for the whole space of eighteene daies we light on no men, but afterward we came to a River, flowing into the Countrie it selfe. In that Country we found a great number of men come together, which they call Macuerendas. These have

We came to Gulgaisi & Macuerendas. Gulgaisi.

Macuerendas.

nothing to eate, save fish, and a little flesh, and are 18000. strong of warlike men, and have a great number of Boates. These men after their manner intertained us courteously enough: they dwell on the other side of the River Parana, towards the right hand, have a differing tongue from the former, and are tall men, and of a good proportion, but their women also are very deformed. They are distant from those whom they call Gulgaisi sixtie foure leagues. While we remained idell among these people foure daies, we found an huge monstrous Serpent five and twenty foote long, lying on the land not farre from the shoare, which was as bigge as a man, of a blacke colour, spotted with a deepe yellow. This Serpent we killed with a Gunne, which when the Indians saw, they wondered thereat with great astonishment, for they themselves had never seene any so great before. *Huge Serpent.*

This Serpent, as the Indians themselves said, had done much hurt unto them; for when they washed themselves in the water, the Serpents finding men there, wound their tailes about them, and having drawne them under water, devoured them, so that the Indians knew not oftentimes what became of many of them. I diligently measured the length and thicknesse of this Serpent, which the Indians cutting in peeces, every one carried part home unto their houses, and being sod and roasted did after eate thereof.

18. From hence sailing further up the River of Parana, in foure daies journey we came to a Nation, called Zemais Saluaisco. The men of this Countrie are of a short stature, and of a grosse body. They live with nothing else save fish, flesh, and hony. Both men and women goe naked, as they came into the world when they were first borne, so that they cover not their body so much as with a thred, no not their privie parts. They make warre with the Macuerendas; the flesh they eate is the flesh of Stagges, Boares, Estridges, Conies, which excepting the taile, are not much unlike a Dor-mouse or Rere-mouse. They are sixteene leagues distant from the Macuerendas, *We came to Zemais Saluaisco, and Nepenes. Zemias Saluaisco.* [IV. vii. 1351.]

which distance we sailed in foure daies, and abode one onely day with them.

Mepenes. Departing hence, we came unto another Nation called Mepenes, who are 10000. strong. These people dwell scattered here and there, every where in that Countrie, extending it selfe fortie leagues in length and breadth, yet within two daies both by water and land they may all come together. The multitude of the Boates they have, exceedeth the number of themselves, as we saw when we were with them: and in such a Boate or Canoa about twentie persons are carried. This people received us in hostile and warlike manner with five hundred Canoas upon the River, but with little profit for themselves, for we slew many of them with our shot, for they had never before seene either Gunnes or Christians. But comming to their houses, wee could prevaile nothing against them, seeing they were a whole league distant from the River of Parana, where our Ships lay. The waters also about their Towne were very deepe, which ran out of a Lake, so that we could performe nothing against them, that was of any worth, save that we burned and destroyed two hundred and fiftie Canoas which we had taken. Neither did we thinke it good also for us, to depart so farre from our Shippes, seeing it was to be feared least they would assaile us from the other side: We returned therefore to our Shippes. This people of Mepenes fight onely upon the water, and is distant from the former Countrie of Zemais Saluaisco, from whence we departed ninetie five leagues.

Of the River Parabol, and the peoples Cueremagbas, and Aygais. 19. Sailing up higher from thence, and in eight daies space arriving at a certaine River, we light on a Nation that was very populous, called Cueremagbas, which also liveth onely with fish and flesh. They have Cherrie trees, *Cueremagbas.* of the which they make wine. This people bestowed their best affections upon us, and curteously imparted those things unto us whereof we stood in neede. The *Men of tall stature.* people are of a huge and tall stature, both men and women. The men have a little hole in their nose, into the which,

for ornament, they put a Parrats feather. The women paint their faces with long blew streakes, which all the time of their life are never put out. They cover their privities with Cotten cloath, from the navell to the knees: from the foresaid people of Mepenes, to these Cueremagbas are fortie leagues: so we staied in this place three daies. *Their gallantry.*

Departing thence, we came to another Nation, called Aygais, which also liveth with fish and flesh. The men and women are of a tall stature: the women like the former paint their faces, and cover their privities after the same manner. When therefore we arrived on their coast, taking armes, in hostile manner they resisted us, and would have stopped our passage. We ordered our battaile both by land and water, and fighting with them slew many of them, fifteene also of our men were slaine. These Aygais are stout warriers on the water, but not so by land. Being ready to fight against us, they had conveighed away their wives and children to another place before, and had hidden whatsoever provision of meate or other like things they had, so that we could get nothing from them. Their Village is scituate neere the River called Jepidus, having the River called Paraboll on the other side, descending from the Montainous Countries of Peru, neere the Citie Fuech Kamin. These Aygais are distant from the foresaid Cueremagbas thirtie five leagues. *Aygais.*

20. Departing from these people, we came to a Nation called Carios, fiftie leagues distant from the Aygais, with whom (by Gods grace) we found (as was told us) plentie of Mais, Potatoes and Mandiochpobier, having the taste of a Chestnut, of which they make wine. They have also fish, flesh, wilde Bore, Estridges, Indian Sheepe, as big as our Mules, also Conies, Hens, Goates, and such like: sufficient plenty of Honie, whereof, by boiling it, they make a kinde of Coine. This Country also aboundeth with Cotten. *Of the people Carios.*

These people of Carios inhabit a large Countrie, extending it selfe three hundred leagues in length, and breadth: they are men of a short stature, and thicke, and more able *Carios customes.*

to indure worke and labour then the rest. The men have a little hole in their lippes, and yellow Christall therein (which in their language they call Parabol) of two spannes long, and of the thicknesse of a quill or reede. The men and women both in this Countrie, goe all naked, as they were created of God. Amongst these Indians the Father sels the Daughter, the Husband the wife. Sometimes also the Brother doth either sell or change the Sister. They value a Woman at a Shirt, a Knife, a Hatchet, or some other thing of this kinde. These Carios also eate mans flesh, if they can get it. For when they take any in the warres, whether they be men or women, yong or old, they fatten them, no otherwise then wee doe Hogges. But they keepe a woman some yeeres, if she be yong, and of a commendable beautie, but if in the meane time, she apply not her selfe to all their desires, they kill, and eate her, making a solemne banquet, as marriages are wont to be celebrated with us. But they keepe an old woman, till she dye of her owne accord. These Carios undertake longer journies then any of these Nations upon the River of Plate. They are couragious and fierce in battaile, and their Villages and Townes are situate upon the River Parana, on an high and mounting land.

[IV. vii. 1352.] *Of the Citie Lampere, how it was besieged and won by assault. Their fortifications. Stratagem.*

21. The Citie of these people (which the Inhabitants call Lampere) was compassed with a double bulwarke cunningly made of timber, as with a hedge or inclosure, every trench being of the bredth and thicknesse of a man, and one bulwarke or trench was twelve paces distant from the other. The trenches being digged a fathome deepe into the earth, were so high above the ground, as a man might reach with the length of a Sword. They had also Pits and Caves fifteene paces distant from the walls cast up the height of three men, in the middest whereof pikes were stucke, yet not appearing above ground, as sharpe pointed as a Pinne. They made these Pits so covered with straw, putting twigs and branches therein, with a little earth strowed betweene, that we Christians pursuing them, or being readie to assault their Towne, might fall into them.

But they cast these pits for themselves, and at length they fell into them: for when our Generall John Eyollas, gathering all his Souldiers together, who were not above three hundred (for they left sixtie to guard the Brigantines) ordering and ranging the companies, went against their Citie Lampere, they understanding before of our comming, making a stand a Musket shot of with their armie of foure thousand men, furnished with Bowe and Arrowes after their manner, commanded that we should be told, that they would provide us victuall, and other necessaries, desiring us to goe backe and returne unto our Ships, that so departing as soone as we could, we might peaceably returne to our companions. But it was neither good for our Generall, nor our selves, that we should consent to their request: for this Nation and Countrie, by reason of the plenty of victuall, was also most fit, and commodious for us, especially when in foure whole yeares past, we had not seene a morsell of bread, living onely with fish and flesh, and oftentimes also in great penurie.

The Spaniards in foure yeeres had not seene a morsell of bread.

These Carios therefore taking their Bowe and Arrowes, entertained and saluted us therewith. But as yet, wee had no minde to hurt them, but commanded to signifie unto them, that they should be quiet, and we would become their friends. But they would not be so contented, for they had not yet tried our Gunnes and Swords. When therefore we came somewhat neerer unto them, wee discharged our brasse Peeces against them. Which when they heard, and saw that so many men fell downe dead, and when neither Bullets, nor Arrowes appeared, but holes onely were seene in their bodies, they wondred with astonishment, and horribly terrified, tooke their flight in troopes, overthrowing one another like Dogs: and while with great celeritie they hasten to shelter themselves in their Towne, more then three hundred men, in that amased feare, fell into the foresaid pits, which themselves had digged.

Afterward comming to their Citie, we assaulted it, they couragiously defending themselves, till the third day.

But when they could defend themselves no longer, and were much afraid of their wives and children, which they had with them in the Towne, they earnestly entreated our favour and mercie, promising, that they would doe any thing for us, and for our sakes, at our pleasure, so that wee would spare their lives. In this stirre sixteene of our men were slaine. They brought also to our Generall Eyolas, sixe women, among which the eldest was but eighteene yeeres old, they presented also sixe Stags, and another wilde beast, entreating us to stay with them. They gave two women to the Souldiers, to serve them for Laundresses and other services. They also provided us victuals, and other necessaries for foode. And so peace was concluded betweene them and us.

A Castle is built in Lampere, and is called the Assumption.

22. These things being so done, the Carios were compelled to build us a great House, of stone, timber, and earth, that the Christians might have a place of refuge, if hereafter they moved any sedition against them wherein they might be safe, and might defend themselves against injurie. Wee tooke this Village or Citie of theirs by assault the yeere of Christ 1539. in the feast of the Assumption and gave it that name. And here wee abode two moneths. These Carios are fiftie leagues distant from the Aygais, and from the Iland of Bona speranza, which the Tiembus inhabite about three hundred thirtie and foure leagues.

Making therefore a league with these Carios, they promised, that they would aide us, when we went to the warres, and if we were to undertake any service against the Aygais, they would send eighteene thousand men with us. When our Generall had thus determined, taking three hundred Spaniards, with these Carios, going downe the River of Parabol, with the streame, wee marched thirtie leagues by land, till we came to the place, where the said Aygais dwelt: we slue them both old and young, in the old place where wee left them, unawares in their houses, while they yet slept, early in the morning betweene three and foure of the clocke (for the Carios

Aygais destroyed.

had diligently searched out all) oppressing them even to the death; for the Carios have this custome that being conquerers in warre, they kill all without any commiseration or pitie.

After this, taking away five hundred Canoas or Boates, we burnt all the Villages to the which we came, doing much hurt besides. After one moneth past, some of the people of Aygais came unto us, who being absent farre from home, were not present at this fight, and craving pardon, yeelded themselves into our hands.

23. Continuing therefore in this Citie of the Assumption of Marie sixe moneths, we quietly refreshed our selves. In the meane space our Generall Don Eyollas enquired amongst these Carios, of the Nation called Piembos, from *Piembos.* whom hee received answere, that it was almost an hundred leagues distant from the Citie of Assumption, and that they dwelt up the River Parabol. Being further demanded, [IV. vii. whether they had plentie of food, and how and with what 1353.] they lived, what their behaviour and conditions were? They answere againe, that these Paiembos have no other meate and provision, but Flesh, and Fish, and also Ceratia, which they call Algorobo, whereof they make Meale, which they eate with their Fish. Moreover also they make Wine thereof, which may be compared to our sweet Wine, for the pleasantnesse thereof.

The Generall musters the Souldiers, and out of foure hundred men, chooseth three hundred, whom he saw better furnished with Armes and other things then the rest, leaving the other hundred with the said Carios, in the Citie of Assumption. Wee therefore sayle up the River, and alwaies in five leagues distance we arrived at some Village situate upon the River of Parabol, whose *Parabol well peopled.* Inhabitants came to meete us with all necessarie provision.

24. Departing thence wee came to a Mountaine called *Mount Fernando.* Fernando, like unto that which they call Bogenberg. There we light on the said Paiembos, twelve leagues *Weibingo.* distant from Weibingo. These people entertained us *Paiembos* friendly and peaceable, but with a treacherous and *trechery.*

deceitfull minde, as you shall understand hereafter. They therefore brought us into their houses, and gave us Fish, Flesh, and Ceratia, or bread to eate, and so we abode nine whole daies with them. In the meane time our Generall commanded to enquire of them, whether the Nation called Carcariso were known unto them? They answered him, that concerning them, they knew nothing, but what they had heard by report, to wit, that they dwelt farre hence, in a Countrie abounding with Gold and Silver, but that they had never seene any of them. They added also moreover, that these Caracarisos were wise men as we Christians are, and that they abound with Victuals, to wit, Maiz, Mandeoch, Manduis, Potades, Mandeoch Nach ke ku, Mandeoch Purpy, Mandeoch Ade, Mandeparea, and other rootes; and with flesh also of Indian Sheepe, called Amte, which are a kinde of beast like Asses, having feete like Kine, of a thicke and grosse skinne; and that they had plentie also of Conies, Harts, Geese, and Hens: but that none of the Paiembos had ever seene them, as they remember, but that they had it onely by report of others: but we found afterwards assuredly how all things went.

Carcariso.

Amte, beasts called Sheepe of Peru; and it seemeth bigger and stronger in these parts then there: For the Author rode on one, which in Peru beareth a smal burthen.

Having learned this, our Generall required to have some of the Payembos to goe with us into that Countrie, whereupon they readily offered themselves, and their chiefe Commander presently appointed three hundred Paiembos to goe with us, to carry our victuals, and other necessaries for us. The Generall commanded to prepare, and of five Shippes he caused three to be destroyed. To the other two he appointed fiftie men of us Christians, whom he commanded that in his absence they should stay there foure moneths, expecting his returne, and that if within the time appointed he returned not unto us, they should goe backe with these two Boates to the Citie of the Assumption. But it so fell out, that we staied whole sixe moneths with these Paiembos, and never heard any thing in the meane while of our Generall John Eyollas; and provision of victuall failed us, and

therefore of necessitie, with Dominicke Eyollas, who in the meane time was left to command us, we were to returne with our Shippes to the foresaid Citie of the Assumption.

25. The Generall departing from the said Paiembos, he came to a Nation called Naperus, joyned in league and friendship with the Paiembos, who had nothing but flesh and fish. And it is a populous Nation of these Naperus; our Generall tooke certaine unto him, to shew him the way, for they were to goe through divers Countries with great labour and in great penurie of all things; for they had tried the violence of many who resisted them in hostile manner, the halfe part of the Christians almost being dead; being brought therefore to a certaine Nation called Peisennos; he could goe no further, but was compelled to goe backe againe with all his people, except three Spaniards, which by reason of their weake estate of body, he left with the Peisennos. *Naperus.* *Peisennos.*

Our Generall therefore John Eyollas being in reasonable good health himselfe, went backe againe with all his people and Souldiers, and quietly refreshed himselfe with all his fellowes for three daies with these Naperus, for the people were faint, being over tired with the journey; and munition and weapons failed us, which the Naperus and Paiembos understanding, conspire among themselves, to kill the Generall John Eyollas, with all his followers, which also they performed: for when our Generall marched with his Christians from Naperus, toward the Paiembos, and had almost now gone halfe the way, these two said Nations, set upon them unawares in a thicket or Forrest (which they chose for their ambush) through which the Christians were to goe. There the Generall, together with his sicke and faint Souldiers, was slaughtered by them, as of so many mad Dogs, so that not one escaped.

§. II.

Martin Eyollas made Generall. Gabreros comming: Scherves Voyage. Nunner his insolence. Divers people and accidents described.

IN the meane space, while wee fiftie men returning to the Assumption, expect our Generall, we understand what happened, by report of a certaine Indian slave of John Eyollas who was now dead, given him of the Peisennos, who being skilfull in the Language escaped the hands of the enemies, he declared all the whole matter. This was further confirmed by two of the Paiembos taken Prisoner, and it seemed good to us Christians, that we should create Martine Eyollas often named to us, our chiefe Commander and Generall, untill we received other commandement from the Emperours Majestie.

Our Generall therefore gave commandement, that foure Brigantines should be prepared, and taking 150. men of the company, leaving the rest in the City of the Assumption of Mary, hee made shew that he would gather together the 150. men left with the Tiembus (as wee said before) and also these 160. Spaniards who abode with the ships in the Citie of Buenas Aeres, into the said City of the Assumption. With these foure Brigantines therefore hee went downe the Rivers of Paroboll, and Parana with the streame, and came to Tiembus (which first place we called Bonasperanza, but the Castle wherein our Garrison Souldiers were, wee named Corpus Christi.

Wickednesse of some Spaniards.

But before we came from the Assumption to Tiembus, a certaine man of the Christians, to wit, Captaine Franco Ruis, a Priest called John Baban, and a certaine Secretarie John Ernandus, as it were subordinate Governours of the Christians, tooke treacherous and wicked counsell together, to kill the Captaine of the Indians of Tiembus, and certaine other Indians with him: which wicked attempt they performed also in deed, so that, not without

great impietie before our Generall Martin Don Eyollas his comming, and ours, they had slaine those Indians, from whom a long time they had received no small benefits. Our Generall therefore commanded Anthonio Mendoza (whom he left as Commander in the Castle of Corpus Christi, with a Garrison of 120. of our men, giving him also provision of victuall) if his life and safetie were deere unto him, that in any case he should beware of the Indians, and should diligently keep watch and ward, by day and night. And if the Indians making shew of friendship should come unto them, that they should deale courteously with them, performing all friendly offices unto them, yet in the meane time they should carefully look unto themselves, & be very warie in all things, lest any damage should be done to themselves, or other Christians. These things being thus ordered and disposed, hee prepareth himselfe to continue his intended journey, taking with him those three persons, who were Authors of the murder. When they were now about to take their journey, one of the Nobles of Tiembus Zuche Lyemi by name, although he were a great friend of the Christians, yet by reason of his wife and children, and other Kinsmen of his, and familiars, compelled to consent to their counsels and practises: he admonished our General Eyollas, to cause all the Christians to be conveyed downe the River with him, for now all the Countrey had made readie all their forces, that either they might wholly cut them all off, or drive them all out of the Countrey. To whom our Generall Martin Don Eyollas answered, that hee would shortly returne: and that his people had strength enough to sustaine the assault or force of the Indians, and added moreover, that hee desired, that Zuche Lyemi with his Wife and children, and all his familiar friends, and all his people would come over to the Christians, and joyne himselfe with them, which also he promised. After this, our Generall is carried downe the River, and leaveth us at Corpus Christi.

28. Eight daies after or thereabouts, the aforesaid Indian Zuche Lyemi, sendeth one of his brethren Suelupa by name, but deceitfully and treacherously, and requested our Captaine Mendoza to grant him sixe Christians furnished with shot and other weapons, for he would bring over all his substance, with his whole Family unto us, and from henceforth dwell amongst us. Our Captaine being perswaded by these promises, gives him not sixe but fiftie Spaniards, exceeding well provided and furnished with armour and shot, the Tiembus came unto them, and intertained them with Judas kisse, bringing flesh and fish, that they might eate: now when the Christians began to fall to their meate, their friends and consorts, and other Tiembus gathered together amongst them, with those also who hide themselves, in the field and houses, fall upon these fiftie men, and so consecrate the Banquet with them, that no man escaped alive, except one Boy only called Caldero, who got out of their hands. Afterwards they set upon us with 10000. strong and besieged the Village (which we held) continually for fourteene daies, intending wholly this that being brought under, they might utterly destroy us: but God in mercie defeated their purposes, and overthrew their enterprizes.

Fiftie Spaniards slaine by Tiembus treacherie.

Spaniards besieged.

They had made themselves long Speares or Javelings, of the Swords which they had gotten from the slaine Christians, wherewith they fought against us both with the edge and point, assaulting our Village day and night. Our Captaine Anthony Mendoza armed with a two hand Sword, went out of the Port, neere which some Indians lay in ambush, so that they could not bee seene. Being gone therefore out of the Port, the Indians thrust him through with their Javelings, so that hee presently fell downe dead upon the ground. But because the Indians wanted victuals, they could sustaine themselves no longer heere, but were compelled to leave the siege and bee gone.

[IV. vii. 1355.]

Captain Mendoza slaine.

After this two Brigantines laden with provision of victuall and other necessaries arrived at our Port, which

our Generall sent unto us from the Towne of Buenas Aeres, to maintaine our selves therewith till his comming. As therefore wee were cheered at the comming of them, so they who arrived with the Brigantines, incredibly sorrowed and lamented for the slaughter of the Christians. Wee therefore determined by a common Councell (which thing also seemed to bee best for us) to stay no longer in this Village of Corpus Christi, abiding with these Tiembus, but that being carried downe the River, gathering all our forces together, we returne to Buenas Aeres, to our Generall Martin Dominicke Eyollas. Who beeing frighted at our comming, was vehemently grieved for the slaughter of the people, doubtfull how to consult what he should first doe, seeing also victuall and other necessarie things failed us.

29. While therefore we continued five dayes at Buenas Aeres, a Caravell came to us out of Spaine, and brought us newes, that a ship was arrived at Saint Katharine, whose Captaine Allunzo Gabrero, brought with him 200. Souldiers out of Spaine, which when our Captaine certainly knew, he commanded one of the lesser ships, which they call a Galley, to bee made readie, that he might send her as soone as possibly he could to Saint Katharines into Brasill, which was 300. leagues distant from Buenas Aeres: making Gonzallo Mendoza Captaine thereof to governe the ship: giving him charge also, that if arriving at Saint Katharines, he found the ship there, they should lade one of the ships with Rice, Mandeoch, and other victuals, as seemed good unto him. Gonzallus Mendoza therefore receiving this commandement, requested the Generall Martin D. Eyollas to give him seven of the Souldiers whom hee might trust, for this Voyage which hee promised. Hee therefore chose mee, and sixe Spaniards to himselfe, with twentie other Souldiers.

Gabreros comming out of Spaine with 200. Souldiers thither.

Setting saile from Buenas Aeres, in the space of a moneth we arrived at Saint Katharines, and finding the ship there; which came out of Spaine, together with

S. Katharines.

Captaine Allunzo Gabrero, and all the Souldiers, wee greatly rejoyced. Abiding with them two moneths, wee laded our ship with Rice, Mandeoch, and Turkish Corne, as full as it could hold, so that no more could bee put in both the ships to carrie with us. And the day before All Saints, wee arrived at the River Parana, twentie leagues yet distant from Buenas Aeres. Both the ships met together that night, whose Pilots asked one another, whether wee were now in the River of Parana: when our Pilot affirmed we were, the other said the contrarie, that we were yet almost twentie leagues of. For when twentie or more ships saile together, in the Evening at the going downe of the Sunne they meete together, and one of the Masters asketh the other, what way he had made that day, and with what wind hee would saile by night, lest they should bee divided one from the other. The River of Parana Vuassu, at the Bay or mouth thereof is thirtie leagues broad, which breadth continueth for fiftie whole leagues together, unto the Port of Saint Gabriell, where the River Parana is eighteene leagues broad. After this our Pilot asketh the Master of the other ship, whether hee would saile after, to him the other made answere, that night was now at hand, and therefore he would continue still at Sea, till the rising of the Sunne, and that he would not make to the Land in the unseasonable night. And this Pilot in guiding his ship was more circumspect then ours was, as the event afterward declared. Therefore our Master held on his intended course, leaving the other.

Custome of Marinerss.

Greatnesse of Parana.

30. Sayling by night, a mighty storme troubled the Sea, so that about twelve or one of the clocke before Sunne rising, before we had cast our Anchors in the Sea, we descried Land, and our ship was much bruised when wee were yet a league or more from the Land. Wee could finde no other remedie for this mischiefe, then making our Prayers unto God, to intreate him to be mercifull unto us. The same houre our ship being split was broken in more then a thousand pieces, and

fifteene of our men, and sixe of the Indians perished being drowned in the waters. Some taking hold of great pieces of Timber swamme out. I with five of my companions escaped by the helpe of a Mast. But of fifteene persons, we found not so much as one carkasse. Afterward we were to travell fiftie leagues on foot, when we had lost all our clothes, with all the victuals in the ship, so that we were constrained to sustaine our selves, only with Rootes and other Fruites, which we could find heere and there in the fields, while wee came to the Port of Saint Gabriell, where we found the foresaid ship with her Captaine, who arrived there thirtie dayes before us. *They are wracked.*

But our Generall Martin D. Eyollas had heard before by intelligence, of this our mishap, and thinking that we were all dead, commanded some Masses to be read for our soules health. When we were brought to Buenas Aeres, our Generall commandeth the Captaine of our ship, and the Master thereof to be cited, and stand to their triall, who without doubt had hanged the Pilot, if so great and earnest intreaties had not beene used, yet hee was condemned for foure yeeres to the Gally. *Justice on the negligent Pilot.*

Gathering together all our companies to Buenas Aeres, our Generall commandeth the Brigantines to be made ready, and all the Souldiers to bee shipped therein, and commandeth the rest of the shippes to be burned, yet preserving the Iron Vessels and Instruments. Wee therefore once more saile up the River of Parana againe, and arriving at our foresaid Citie of the Assumption of Marie, staying there two yeeres, we expected further commandement from the Emperours Majesty. [IV. vii. 1356.]

31. In the meane time while these things are thus done, a certaine Captaine Alvarez Nunnez Cabeça de Vacha commeth out of Spaine, whom Cæsars Majestie had created Generall, and with foure hundred men, and thirtie Horses divided into foure ships, of the which two were greater, and the other two Caravels. *Alvarez Nunnez.*

A.D. 1534-54. *Note. Franciscus Lopez chap. 89. writeth of this Alvarez Nunnez that in the yeere 1541. he was sent from Cæsars Majestie, with 400. men, and 46. horses to the River of Plate. And he was 8. whole moneths in this Voyage. And therefore first in the yeere 1542. hee arrived at the Assumption. Shipwracke & travel by land. 100. men lost.*

The foure ships arrived in Brasill at the Haven of Wiesaii, or Saint Katharine, to seeke provision of victuall. And when the Captaine had sent the two Caravels eight leagues from the Haven to seeke victuals, so great a storme tooke them, that they perished, being broken all to pieces in the Sea, the men notwithstanding which were in them being saved. When Alvarez the chiefe Commander knew this for a certainty, hee durst not put to Sea any more in the greater ships; he therefore commanded utterly to destroy them, and travelling by land towards the River of Plate, at length came unto us, to the Assumption of foure hundred men bringing three hundred with him, the rest dying either of famine, or of cruell diseases.

From hence the Captaine was eight whole moneths in his journey, and from the Citie of the Assumption, to S. Katherines are reckoned three hundred leagues. This is to be understood of the next and most direct way, for from the Assumption, downe the River to the Sea, there are three hundred thirtie foure leagues, and to Saint Katharine three hundred. Alvarez Nunnez also brought the title of his government out of Spaine, granted unto him from Cæsars Majestie, and therefore required, that our Generall Martin Don Eyollas, should yeeld up the whole government unto him, which thing also Don Eyollas, and all the company with all their heart were readie to performe, yet upon this condition, that hee should make good proofe also, that this power and authoritie was granted unto him from the Emperours Majestie. But the whole assembly could not wrest this from him, only the Priests, & one or two of the Captains affirmed it.

32. The said Alvarez Nunnez therefore taking a view of the Souldiers, found the number of the whole Army to be eight thousand men. Making friendship also with Martin Don Eyollas, each sware to other brotherly fidelity and friendship, so that Eyollas should have no lesse power to command the people, then he had before.

The Governour commandeth nine Brigantines to be made ready, that he might saile up the River as farre as it was possible. But before the ships were made readie, he sendeth three Brigantines with one hundred and fifteene Souldiers before commanding, that they should go as far as they could, and seeke out the Indians that had Maiz.

Hee joyned also two Captaines unto them, Antonio Gaberro, and Diego Tabellinus. These therefore in the beginning come to a Nation, called Surucusis, having Maiz, Mandeoch, and other Roots of that kind, and Mandues also (which are like our Filbirds) and fish and flesh. The men carrie in their lips a blue stone like the bone of a Die.

Savage nation of Surucusis.

With this Nation we left our ships, and with them certaine of our companions, to whom we committed the custodie thereof: but having gone foure dayes journey into the Countrey, wee came to a Village pertayning to the Carios, being three hundred strong, inquiring therefore diligently there, of the state of that Countrey, wee received honest and peaceable answeres from them. Returning thence unto our ships, and going downe the River of Parabol, we came to the Nation Achkeres. There we found Letters sent from Alvaro the Governour, whereby hee commanded to hang up the chiefe Captaine of these Indians, Achkeres by name. Which commandement our Captaine obeyed without delay, and we returned home.

Village of Carios.

Achkeres hanged.

33. The whole Countrey of Dabero and Carios, were up in Armes, joyning their forces together to invade the Christians. For the King of Dabero was the brother of that Achkeres, whom the Christians hanged, whose death hee would most severely avenge upon the Christians. Our Governour armeth himselfe in the meane time against his Enemies, to undertake some service against them. He therefore determined with the consent of his sworne brother Martin Don Eyollas, that this Eyollas should goe against the said Dabero, and Carios with

foure hundred Christians and two thousand Indians, and either drive them out of the whole Countrey, or utterly roote them out. The said Eyollas faithfully executing this commandement, leadeth his Armie out of the City of the Assumption, and meeting with the enemy, by the commandement of Cæsars Majestie first perswadeth Dabero to peace and quietnesse, but he little regarding this, would admit no treatie of peace, for he had gathered a mightie Army, fenced his Villages with Bulwarks or Rampires of wood fastened in the ground, and had compassed them about with a triple fence of stakes or piles, having also cast up deepe and mightie pits, whereof we spoke before in the 21. Chapter, all which wee found out before by diligent search. Wee stood still quietly with our Armie till the fourth day, before wee proclaimed war against them, but the fourth day in the morning, three houres before the rising of the Sunne, making an assault, wee violently rushed into the City, and whomsoever we found there, we slue, yet taking many women, and preserving them from slaughter, which afterward turned to our great benefit. In this assault twenty sixe of the Christians were slaine, many of the people being wounded and hurt. And many also of the Indians on our part perished; but of the Caniballs 3000. slaine. Not long after Dabero, came unto us with his people, and craved favour and pardon. In the next Expedition Dabero sent to Nunnez 2000. Indians to aide us. From the Carios also he commandeth nine Brigantines to bee furnished, all which being done, 800. Christians he taketh 500. leaving 300. at the Assumption, over whom he made John Satensser Captaine. With this Army of 500. Christians, and 2000. Indians, we saile up the River of Parabol: and the Carios had with them 83. boats, wee Christians had nine Brigantines, in every one of the which there were two horses. But the horses were conveyed over Land 100. leagues, and we were carried upon the River unto the Mountaine of Saint Ferdinand. At that place taking our horses againe

Indian fortifications.

Towne taken.

[IV. vii. 1357.]

Dabero commeth in.

into the ships, from thence afterward we were carried forward, untill we came to our Enemies the Paiembos, *Paiembos.* but they not looking for our comming, conveyed away themselves by flight with their wives and children, having first set their houses on fire. After this we travelled 100. leagues together, and light not on any people, at length wee came to a Nation, whose people are called Baschurepos, who live by fish and flesh. It is a populous *Baschurepos.* Nation, and they inhabit a large Countrey of 100. leagues broad. They have so great a number of boats, that it is incredible to be written. Their women cover their Secrets. These people refusing to talke with us, fled from us. Departing from them, wee came to another Nation called Surucusis, 90. leagues distant from *Surucusis.* the Baschurepos, the people out of this Countrey lovingly and friendly entertained us. Every Housholder of these Surucusis dwelleth in a peculiar and proper house of his owne with his wife and children. The men have a round piece of wood hanging at their eares like a Calecut Die. The women have Christall of a Skie colour, of a finger thicke hanging at their lips, they are wel-favoured to behold, and goe altogether naked. These people abound with Turkish Corne, Mandeoch, Manduis, Padades, fish and flesh. And it is a very populous Countrey.

Our Captaine commanded to inquire of them concerning a Nation called Carchacaris, and also of the *Carchararis.* Carios. They could tell us nothing of the Carchacaris; but concerning the Carios they said, that they were with them at their houses. But it was not true, having learned this, our Generall commanded to prepare our selves for the journey, for hee determined to goe further into the Countrey. He appointed an hundred and fiftie Souldiers to stay with the ships, to whom he gave provision of victuall for two yeeres. Taking the other three hundred and fiftie together with the eighteene horses, and twenty thousand Indians or Carios, who came from the Assumption with us, he went further into the Countrey, but with little benefit to us. For

Generall not beloved.

our Generall was not a man fit for so great an attempt; besides all the Captaines and Souldiers hated him, for his perverse and rigorous carriage towards the Souldiers. Having travelled therefore eighteene dayes journey they never set eye neither upon the Carios, nor any other people, and food also failed them, so that our Generall

Hee returneth.

was of necessitie to returne againe unto the shippes. But yet our Generall chargeth a certaine Spaniard Franciscus Rieffere, with tenne other Spaniards to goe forward, commanding them that if after ten dayes journey they found no people, they should returne unto the ships, where they would stay for them. It happened therefore that they light upon a populous Nation, which had plentie of Turkish Corne, Mandeoch, and other Roots. But the Spaniards durst not come in their sight, and returning to us, signified this unto our Generall, who was very desirous to have gone into this Countrey againe, but he was hindered by the waters, that he could not proceed.

Ernandus Rieffiere sayleth up the River to the Guebuecusis, and Achkeres.

He therefore commandeth a ship to be furnished againe, wherein he put eighty Souldiers, and making Ernandus Rieffiere Captaine, injoyneth him to goe up the River of Parabol, to discover the Nation called Scherves, and therein two dayes journey, and no more to enter into the heart of the Countrey, and after that to make report unto him of the Countrey, and the Inhabitants thereof. Departing by ship from our Generall, the first day we came to a certaine Nation

Guebuecusis Iland in the River.

called Guebuecusis, on the other side of the Countrey, whose people inhabit a certaine Iland, contayning thirty leagues in length, which the River Parabol compasseth. They feed upon Mandeoch, Maiz, Manduis, Padades, Mandepore, Porpe Bachkeku, and other Roots, and also upon flesh and fish. The men and women are like the former Surucusis in Phisnomy and favour. Wee staied this day with them. When we were to depart the next day, they accompanied us with ten Canoas or Boats: twice in the day time they fished, and caught Venison, which they gave us.

Spending nine dayes in this journey wee arrived after at the Nation called Achkeres, where a great multitude of people were gathered together. The men and women, are of a great and tall stature, the like whereof I saw not in all the Countrey of the River of Plate, and these Achkeres are thirty leagues distant from the foresaid Surucusis; they live by no other thing save fish and flesh: the women cover their secrets. We staied one day with these Achkeres, and from hence the said Surucusis returned with their ten Boats or Canoas to their Village. Afterward our Captaine Ernandus Rieffere, requested the Achkeres, to shew him what way they might goe to the Scherves, whereto they were very readie, and sent eight Canoas or Boats from their Village with us, and twice every day they caught fish and flesh, that so we might have sufficient plenty of food.

Achkeres.

Men of tall stature.

They are called Achkeres, which signifieth Crocodiles, of the store (it seemeth) of those creatures in those parts.

36. The ninth day after our departure from them, we came to the Scherves, unto whom from the said Achkeres, are thirtie sixe leagues. This Nation is very populous, yet they are not true and naturall, among whom the King himselfe hath an house. But these Scherves maintaine a Priest expert in the Mysteries of Religion, and have a ring of wood hanging at their eares. These men also weare a blue Christall in their lips, of the shape and bignesse of Dice, they are painted with a blue colour from the paps to the privities, with that excellency that I thinke a Painter is not to be found in all Germany, which could performe the like so finely and artificially. They goe naked, and are beautifull after their manner.

[IV. vii. 1358.]

Scherves.

Priests and Woodden Earings.

Cunning painters.

We stayed therefore one day with these Scherves, and after going fourteene leagues forward in three dayes journey, at length wee came to the place where their King dwelleth, from the which the Inhabitants are called Scherves. His Country containeth only foure leagues in length. Yet hath he a Village situate upon the River of Parabol. Therefore leaving our ships heere, we com-

mitted the custodie thereof to twelve Spaniards, that returning wee might use them for our defence. Wee also intreated the Scherves dwelling there, that in the meane space they would friendly converse with the Christians, and intreate them courteously, which also they did, with necessaries for our journey, passing over the River Parobol, wee arrived at that place, where the seate and house of the King was. Who, when we were almost yet a league from him, commeth forth to meete us guarded with more then 12000. men in a Champion plaine, yet friendly and peaceably. The path wherein they marched, was eight paces broad, strewed with flowres and grasse on every side, and made so cleane, that not so much as any little stone, stick, or straw appeared. The King had also with him his Musicians, whose Instruments were like our crooked Trumpets, which wee call Schalmes. Hee gave commandement also, that they should hunt Stags and other wilde beasts on both sides of the way which hee went, so that they tooke about thirtie Stags and twentie Estridges or Jandu, which spectacle was very pleasant to behold. When we were entred into the Village, he alwaies appointed one lodging for two Christians. But our Captaine together with his Servants or followers was brought into the Kings Palace.

Wilde pompe of the King.

Stags and Estridges.

Musicke. He is wont to have Musicke at the Table, and at his meate, whensoever he pleaseth. For then they play upon the Flutes or Pipes, men leading the dances and skipping with most beautifull women, which dances and skippings seemed so strange unto us, that looking upon them, wee had almost forgot our selves. In the rest the Scherves are like those people of whom wee spoke before. The women make them gownes or upper garments of thinne Cotton, almost like our clothes which are some part silke, which we call Arras or Burschet. They weave in these divers shapes of Stags, Estridges and Indian sheepe, according as every of them is more skilfull in the art of weaving.

Weavers.

In these garments they sleepe, if the Aire happen to be somewhat cold, or putting them under them they sit upon them, or use them at their pleasure for other services. These women are very faire and venerous.

When we had stayed there foure dayes, this pettie King demanded of our Captaine what our purpose was, and whether we would goe? to whom he made this answere, that he sought Gold and Silver. Therefore he gave him a Crowne of Silver weighing a pound and an halfe. He gave him also a plate of Gold of a spanne and an halfe long, and halfe a span broad, and certaine other things made cunningly wrought of Silver, and told our Captaine that he had no more Silver nor Gold: And that these things wherewith he presented him, were the spoiles which in time past he had gotten in war against the Amazones. *Gold and Silver.*

That he made mention of the Amazones and of their riches, was very pleasing to us to heare. Our Captaine therefore presently demandeth of the King, whether we might come to them by Sea, or by the River, and how much further we had to goe, when wee were to take our journey towards them? whereunto he answered, that we could not goe to them by water but by land, and that in two whole moneths journey.

37. These women the Amazones, have only one of their pappes, their Husbands come unto them three or foure times in the yeere. And if the woman beeing with child by her Husband, bring forth a Male child, she sendeth him home again to his Father, but if it be a Female, she keepeth it with her: and seareth the right pap of it, that it may grow no more, which she doth for this purpose, that they may be more fit to handle their Weapons and Bowes. For they are warlike women, making continuall war with their Enemies. These women inhabit an Iland that is very large, on every side compassed with water, to whom there is no accesse but by Canoas or Boats. The Amazones have neither Gold nor Silver in this Iland, but they are reported to have great *The Amazones described.* *Iland of Amazones.*

Treasures in the firme land, which the men inhabit. It is a very populous Nation, and is said to have a King called Jegues, and the King of Scherves told us the name of the place. Therefore the Captaine Ernandus Rieffiere desired the King of Scherves, to joyne certaine of his men with us, to carry our bagge and baggage for us, and then we would enter the heart of the Country to seeke those Amazones. He willingly assenteth thereunto, yet in the meane time admonishing us, that the whole Countrie was now overflowed with waters, and therefore we should have a very difficult and uneasy Journey unto them, and that wee could not easily at this time come unto them. But we would not give credite to his words, but were instant to have the Indians joyned with us. He therefore gave twentie men to our Captaine, for his owne person, to carrie his provision and necessaries: and to every one of us, he gave five Indians to serve us, and carrie that little which we had. For wee were to goe eight dayes Journey, wherein wee should not see any Indian.

[IV. vii. 1359.]

Siberis. But afterward we came to a certaine Nation called Siberis, who in their language and other things were like the Scherves. Wee were to goe for these eight whole dayes, day and night in the water up to the knees, and sometimes reaching as high as the waste: nor could we by any meanes get out of them. And if we would make fire, we were of necessitie to put it upon a pile or stacke made of great blockes or pieces of wood: and it fell out often, that when wee were about to boile our meate, both the pot and the fire fell into the water, so that after that, wee were faine to be without our meate. And Gnats also troubled and vexed us day and night, so that we could not doe our necessarie worke or businesse.

Wading Journey.

Bellie-shifts.

Gnats.

Wee therefore demanded of those Siberis, whether wee should yet have any more waters? who answered, that wee were yet foure dayes to walke in the waters, and afterward were to travell five dayes by Land, and

at length wee should come to a Nation called Orethuisen. They signified also unto us, that wee were too few in number, and therefore that wee should returne. But the Scherves would not doe this: for wee thought rather to send them backe unto their Towne, who had hitherto accompanied us, but they refused to doe it, saying, they were enjoyned by their King not to leave us, but should continue with us, untill wee came out of the Countrie againe. These Siberis joyned ten men with us, who together with the Scherves should shew us the way to the fore-said Orethuisen. Wee were yet seven dayes more to travell in the waters which were so hot, as if they had beene heat upon the fire, which water also, having no other, wee were compelled to drinke. But some might peradventure thinke, that it was River water, but at that time, showers of raine were so common and usuall, that they filled the whole Countrie with water, which is altogether very plaine and even.

Travels in hot waters.

The ninth day we came unto a certaine Village of the Nation Orethuisen, betweene ten and eleven of the clocke. And at twelve of the clocke, being come into the middest of the Towne, we came unto the Princes house. At that time a cruell and mightie Plague was very hot, whereof Famine was the cause: for, two yeeres together, the Gras-hoppers had so eaten and corrupted all manner of Corne, and the fruits of trees, that almost nothing was left them, which they might eate.

Orethuisen.

Locusts.

But our Captaine asked the Petie-King of this Nation, how many dayes Journey we yet had to the Amazones? from whence he receiveth answere; That wee must yet travell one whole moneth, besides that all the Countrie was full of water.

The Amazons are still further off: I doubt beyond the region of Truth; if the title be properly meant of such as are here described.

The King of these Orethuisen, gave our Captaine foure Plates of gold, and foure silver Rings, which they put about their armes: but the Indians weare the Plates of gold on their foreheads for ornament, as our Nobles doe their Chaines, or Collars of Esses hanged

For warlike wives living in societie with men, are many.

Gold and silver.

about their neckes. For these things our Captaine gave the King of the Indians an Hatchet, Knives, and Beades, or Pater-nosters, Barbers Scizzars, and such like. Wee would willingly have craved more of them, but wee durst not attempt it, because wee were but few in number, so that wee were forced to stand in feare of them. For the multitude of these Indians was very great, and the Towne huge, in so much as I have not seene any greater or more populous throughout all India. For the Towne was very long, and broad.

38 Going backe therefore, we returned to the foresaid Siberis, and we Christians were ill furnished with provision of victuall, and other things, nor had we any meate, but the fruits of trees, which they call Patmides, and Cardes, and other wilde roots growing under ground. And when we should returne unto the Scherves, the halfe part of our people was deadly sicke, and that by reason of the water, through which wee were to wade for thirtie dayes together, so that wee could never turne aside, or get out of the same; and also by reason of the great scarsitie and famine, which we must indure in this Journey: which calamitie was not a little encreased, in that we were compelled to drinke that filthie and impure water. Abiding therefore foure dayes with these Scherves, with whom the King himselfe dwelleth, we were very lovingly and bountifully entertained, and provided for. For the King gave commandement to his Subjects, to give us all things necessarie. Every man also had gotten for himselfe almost two hundred Ducats onely by Cotton Gowns and Silver, which we had gotten of them by secret exchange of Knives, Beades, Scizzers, and Glasses.

Thirtie dayes wading.

Profitable tricke.

After all this, being carried downe the River, wee returned to our Generall. But when wee came to the ships, the Generall commanded upon paine of death, that no man should goe out of the ship, and he also in proper person comming to our Captaine, laying hold of him, commanded him to be cast in Prison, and by

violence tooke away from us Souldiers, whatsoever we had gathered in this Journey. And not contented with this, would have hanged our Captaine upon a tree. [IV. vii. 1360.] When we abiding yet in the Brigandines understood this, taking counsell with certaine of our friends, which were ashoare, we raised a tumult and a sedition against our said Generall, and in his presence face to face we said unto him, that forthwith he should set Captaine Ernandus Rieffere free before us, and restore all unto us, which he had violently taken from us, otherwise we would provide according to the state and the time.

When Alvarus saw this our tumult and indignation, with a willing minde, he presently freed the Captaine from captivitie, and restored also unto us whatsoever he had taken from us, endeavouring with faire speaches, that we might be pacified.

39. In this Countrie Surucusis I found no Indian, who had attained to fortie or fiftie yeeres, and in all the time of my life I never found a Countrie lesse healthfull. It is situate under the Tropike of Capricorne. *Unhealthfull Countrie.*

Our Generall falling sicke, in this his sicknesse commanded an hundred and fiftie Christians to arme themselves, and taking two thousand Carios with them, to make foure Brigandines also readie. These he enjoyned, to goe about some foure leagues to the Iland of Surucusis by ship, and after kill and take all this people, and should principally destroy those persons, who were fortie or fiftie yeeres old. But how the said Surucusis entertained us before, is alreadie declared. But what reward we gave them againe, and how welcome we were unto them, you shall shortly understand. And God knoweth we did them great injurie. When therefore wee arrived at their Towne unawares, they came out of their houses with their Armes, Bowes and Arrowes, yet peaceably to meet us, but forthwith a tumult arising betweene the Carios and the Surucusis, we Christians discharged our brasse Peeces *Wicked precept.*

against them, killing very many: and having taken also two thousand of their men, women, boyes, and girles, wee tooke away all their houshold-stuffe, and whatsoever might bee taken from them, as in such violent assaults is usually done. Then we returned to our Generall, who was well pleased with that we had done. But because our Souldiers were for the most part feeble and sicke, and most of them also were ill affected to our Generall, and hated him, we could doe no more with them, but being altogether conveyed downe the River Parabol, we returned to our Citie the Assumption; where wee left the rest of the Christians. There our Generall fell sicke againe of a Feaver, and kept within doores fourteene whole dayes together, more of wicked dissimulation and pride, then hindered by reason of sicknesse.

40. All the companie hereupon, as well Noble as Ignoble, determined and decreed with one consent and purpose, that they would send this their Commander prisoner unto Cæsars Majestie, the Treasurer or Judge, the Clarke, or Master of the Toll or Custome, and the Secretarie, ordained by Cæsars Majestie (whose names were Almunzus Gabrerus, Francus Mendoza, and Gratus Hamiegus) taking to them two hundred Souldiers, tooke our Generall, who feared nothing lesse then this, and this was done upon Saint Markes Day, in the moneth of Aprill. And they kept him prisoner an whole yeere, till they might send him with two other Officers into Spaine in a Caravell, Martin Don Eyollas was chosen Generall, who also governed this Countrie before, especially seeing the Souldiers also loved him: which election the better part allowed. At this time, I lay grievously sicke of the Dropsie, which disease I had gotten in our Journey to the Orethuisen, when we waded so long in the waters, and besides suffered want, and almost intolerable hunger: By occasion of that Journey, eightie of our men beganne to bee sicke, whereof onely thirtie recovered health.

The Authours sicknesse.

41. Alvarus Nunnez therefore being sent away into Spaine, the Christians began to disagree among themselves in hostile manner. The fightings and contentions continued with us a whole yeere almost, the sending away of Alvarus giving occasion to this mischiefe. When the Carios and Aygais, (who hitherto were our friends) perceived this, to wit, that we Christians, bare such treacherous hearts one to another, and used and exercised such fighting and skirmishing amongst our selves, it fell out very acceptably to them all, and by taking Armes against us, forced us to peace amongst our selves.

42. Departing from the Assumption, together with our Generall, and three hundred and fiftie Christians, to whom one thousand Indians joyned themselves, which our Generall so divided, that three Indians alwaies should serve under one Christian: we went so farre forward, that we were onely three leagues distant from that place where our Enemies the Carios encamped, who being fifteene thousand men strong, had now ranged their battell. But although we were now but halfe a league from them, yet we would not set upon them that day, because we were wearie by reason of the Journey, and many and great showres of raine troubled us: therefore wee hid our selves in a Wood, where we lay close the night before.

Going forth the next morning at sixe of the clocke, and comming into their sight about seven, we joyned battell, prolonging the fight till ten of the clocke. But at length they being put to flight, made haste to a certaine Towne called Fræmidiere, foure leagues distant, which they had fortified with strong Bulwarkes. The Chiefe Commander of the Carios was called Machkarias, and in this conflict, there fell two thousand men of the Enemies, whose heads the Jeperus tooke with them. Of ours, besides those that were wounded and hurt, whom we sent backe to the Assumption, ten Christians were slaine. But wee pursued the Enemie with all our Armie, even to their Towne Fræmidiere, whether the

Fight with the Carios.

[IV. vii. 1361.]

Fræmidiere.

Commander of the Carios conveyed himselfe by flight. They have compassed this Towne with a triple rowe of Trenches, as with a wall. The Trenches were as thicke as a man in the middle, which being digged a mans depth into the ground, rose three fathom high above ground. They had also cast up pits, or deepe holes, whereof also we have spoken before, in every one whereof they had pitched five or sixe stakes, sharpe pointed like Pinnes or Needles. This Towne therefore by fortification, and Garrisons of valiant and couragious men, was exceedingly well fenced, so that three dayes we besieged them in vain, yet at length, by Gods helpe, we conquered it. Wee made also great and round Targets of Indian Sheepes skinnes, which they call Amaten, or Amidas. This beast is of a reasonable bignesse, like an ordinarie Mule, of a grey colour, with cloven feete like a Kow, in the rest like an Asse, yeelding pleasant meate. There is great store of these beasts in this Countrie, they have a skin halfe a finger thicke. Wee therefore gave these round Targets to the Indians Jeperus, giving some of them also an Hatchet: and betweene two Indians we placed an Harquebusse shot. Destroying their triple inclosure, we entred the Towne of Fræmidiere; we neither spared men nor women, boyes nor girles. But the greatest part of them having escaped by flight, betooke themselves to a certaine other Towne of theirs called Carieba, twentie leagues distant from Fræmidiere, which Towne also they fortified as strongly as they could. The Carios also in great numbers came together againe, incamping themselves neere an huge Wood, that if peradventure this Towne also should be wonne by the Christians, they might use the helpe of the Wood for their defense.

Siege and conquest.

Carieba.

Wee came to the said Towne, and pitching our Tents, besieged it round in three places. We had also hid some of our men in a Wood, to keepe diligent watch there. Supplies also of two hundred Christians, and five hundred of the Jeperus, and the Bathici came to aide

us, from the City of Assumption. For many of our men, both Christians, and Indians, were much wounded. So that we were of necessitie compelled to send for a fresh supplie of Souldiers for our aide. Now therefore all our forces were foure hundred and fiftie Christians, and the Jeperus and the Bathacis were thirteene hundred in number.

But our Enemies the Carieba, had much more strongly fortified this Towne with Trenches, and Motes, then ever they had done any before. They had also made and framed certaine Engines, and instruments like Traps, wherewith Mise are taken, which if according to their purpose and meaning, they had fallen, every one of them at one fall had slaine twentie or thirtie men. They had disposed many of these Engines here and there about this Towne. *Fortifications and Engines.*

Wee abode therefore neere this Towne foure whole dayes, and could effect nothing of any worth, untill Treason (which getteth the masterie every where throughout the world) came betweene them and home. For a certaine Indian of the Carios our Enemies, who was their Captaine, to whom this towne properly belonged, came by night unto our Generall, earnestly intreating, that we would not waste and destroy this his Towne by fire, which if wee would promise him, he would joyne men with us; and would shew us the way and meanes how to take it. Which when our Generall had promised, adding also this caution, that he should receive no hurt nor damage, he shewed us in the Wood two wayes to come to the Towne, and said, that he would raise a flaming fire therein, during which we should violently breake into it.

When these things proceeded just according to the purpose and agreement made betweene us, by this meanes entring we got the Towne, and great slaughter of the people was made by us Christians: And they that thought they had escaped by fleeing, fell into the hands of the Jeperus, by whom the greatest part of them were

slaine. But they had not their wives, and children then with them, but had hid them in a great Wood foure leagues distant from thence. The people which escaped out of this conflict, fled to a certaine other Petie-King of the Indians, called Dabero: and the Village which entertained them, was called Juberic Sabaie, and was fortie leagues distant from Carieba. But wee could not pursue them thither, for this reason, because what way soever they passed, they had wasted all farre and neere, with fire, and spoyling, and had taken away all the store of provision and victuall. Abiding foure dayes in the Towne Carieba, we cured the wounded, and also refreshed our selves.

43. After this we returne to our Citie, the Assumption, that after we might sayle up the River, and seeke out the Towne of Juberic Sabaie, where the King Dabero had an house, with nine Brigandines, and two hundred Canoas or Boats, wherein fifteene hundred Indians of Jeperus were carried, we went up the River Parabol, to seeke our Enemies Juberic Sabaie.

Juberic Sabaie 46. leagues from Assumption.

In this Voyage also that captaine of the Carios, who betrayed the Towne Carieba to us, joyned himselfe with us, bringing with him one thousand Carios, to aide us against Dabero.

We goe forward therefore with all our forces gathered together on the Land and River, and come so neere unto our Enemies Juberic Sabaie, that we are but two leagues distant from them. When we had arrived there, our Generall Eyollas, sent two Indians of the Carios to the Enemie into their Towne, who should perswade them in the Christians behalfe, that returning into their Countrie, with their wives and children, and all their houshold-stuffe, they should serve the Christians with due subjection, as they did before, which if they refused to doe, they would drive them all out of the Countrie. To this Dabero the King of the Carios, for answer, commandeth to tell our Generall, That he neither acknowledged him, nor the Christians, but if they came,

[IV. vii. 1362.]

they would kill them by casting bones at them. They also send away the two Indian messengers well bumbasted with cudgels, with this straight charge, that they should speedily withdraw themselves from the Campe, otherwise it should come to passe, that they should be slaine.

We came to a River, called Stuesia in the Indian language, almost as broad as Danubuis, halfe the height of a man deepe in some places also deeper. This River doth sometimes so increase by inundation, that it doth much hurt to the Countrie, and by reason of such inundation or overflowing, they cannot travaile by land. We were to passe over this River, and because the enemie had pitched their tents on the other side of the River, they did us much hurt in the passing over. When they saw that we had now passed over the River, speedily taking their flight, convaied themselves into their towne, halfe a league distant from the River; we so pursued them, that we came to their towne of Juberic Sabaie, at the verie same moment that they themselves entred, which also presently we so besieged round, that none of them might either goe out or in: we also forthwith armed our selves with targets made of the skinnes of the Amydas, as aforesaid. We wan their towne. *R. Stuesia.*

Our Generall commanded, before we should invade them by force of armes, that we should neither kill the women, nor their children, but onely leade them away captives; whose commandement also we obayed, but all the men that we could light upon, must dye, yet many escaping by flight, preserved themselves, and our confederates the Jeperus got one thousand of the enemies heads. All these things thus performed, those Carios, who escaped by flight, came, together with their King, and craving pardon of our Generall, intreated that their wives and children might be restored unto them, and then they would performe all obedience of subjection unto us, as before, and serve us faithfully. Our Generall therefore received them to favour, who after-

ward also continued constantly in our friendship and amitie, so long surely as I abode in those Countries. And this warre continued a yeare and an halfe, and fell out in the yeare 1546.

§. III.

A long and troublesome March from Assumption into Peru. The Authors returne.

44. RETurning therefore with our Shippes to our Citie the Assumption, wee staied there two whole yeares. But when in the meane time, neither the Ships came out of Spaine, nor any thing was signified by messengers, our Generall going forth with three hundred and fiftie Spaniards, and two thousand Carios, in the yeare 1548. saileth up the River Parabol, with seven Brigantines, and two hundred Canoas, or Boates. But those of the people, whom the Shippes could not hold, travaile by land with one hundred and thirty horses. Hee made Don. Franck Mendoza Captaine; giving also provision for two yeares.

These things therefore being thus setled. The Generall having sent backe fiftie to Assumption with three hundred Christian Souldiers, one hundred and thirty Horses, and two thousand Carios, having gone forward eight dayes journey, found no Nation; but the ninth day wee light upon a Nation called Naperus, the people thereof live onely by fish and flesh. They are of a strong and tall stature. Their women, which are not beautifull, cover their secrets. This Country is sixe and thirtie leagues distant from the Mountaine Saint Ferdinand: here we lay all night. The day following, continuing on our journey, we came the fourth day after, to another Nation called Mapais, which is very populous; the Subjects are compelled to serve their Noblemen, with fishing, and labours, and other worke, no otherwise then our Boores with us, doe their Nobles. But this Nation aboundeth with Mais, Mandeoch, Ade, Mande pore, Mandeoch

Naperus.

Mapais.

porpie, Padades, Mandues, Bachkeku, and other rootes, and things to eate. It hath also Stagges, Indian Sheepe, Estridges, Ducks, Geese, and many other kindes of Foule. Their Woods abound in great plentie with Hony, of the which also they make Wine, and put it to other necessary uses.

Two kindes of Amidas, one able to beare men. Acosta mentions those of Peru to bear fiftie pounds or little more.

The Sheepe (which they call Amidas) are of two kindes, some of them domesticall, and some wilde, which they use for carriages, and to ride upon, and for other services, almost as we doe our Horses, as I also rid, being carried on such a Sheepe in this very journey, more then forty leagues, when my legge was lame. They use the same Beasts also in Peru for carriage of Merchandise, as our people doe packe Horses.

These Mapais are men of a tall stature, and warlike, converting all their labour and study to warlike affaires. Their women are faire, and cover their secrets. They doe no worke and labour in the fields, but the whole care of maintaining the Family, lyeth upon the man; neither doe they any thing else at home, save spinne, and weave Cotten, or dresse meate for their husbands. [IV. vii. 1363.]

We were not above halfe a league from this Nation when they comming forth of the towne, they met us neere a certaine little Village, where they perswaded us quietly to refresh our selves that night, for they would give us whatsoever we had neede of, but this they did deceitfully and treacherously: that also we might be more secure, they gave our Generall foure silver Crownes, such as are usually worne upon the head, and foure Plates of silver, whereof every one of them was a spanne and an halfe long, and halfe a spanne broad. These Plates they binde to their foreheads for ornament, as we have said before. They presented our Captaine also with three yong women.

When we had turned into this Village, supper being ended, and the watch set, that the people might be safe from the treacherie of the enemie, wee gave our selves

to rest. About midnight our Generall had lost his yong wenches.

45. After this, two thousand of the foresaid Mapais came unto us, that overcharging us unawares they might utterly overthrow and kill us, but they got no great matter at our hands, and in this conflict and bickering more then one thousand men were slaine. They betake themselves to flight, whom we pursued with great haste, even to their Towne, but found no man there, no not so much as their wives and children: our Generall therefore dispatching one hundred and fiftie harquebusse shot, and two thousand five hundred Indian Carios, pursueth these Mapais three dayes and two nights with great speede, so that we did but dine, and rested by night refreshing our selves foure or five houres with sleepe.

The third day we suddenly came upon them gathered together in a certaine wood with their wives and children, but they were not those we sought, but were their friends; who were nothing afraid of us, nor did they suppose that we would ever have come unto them. Notwithstanding the innocent were forced to pay for the fault of the guilty; for when we light upon them, we slew many of them, and tooke of the men, women, and children, about three thousand persons, and if it had bin day, as it was night, none of them had scaped our hands; for an huge number of this people had gathered themselves together in a certaine Mountaine inclosed round with woods. I had gotten for my part of the spoile about nineteene men and women, not very old, together with certaine other things.

These things performed, returning to our Campe, we quietly reposed our selves for eight daies; for we found there sufficient plenty of victuall, and other necessary things; from this Nation Mapais, unto Saint Ferdinandes Mount, where our Shippes rode, were fiftie leagues, and from the Nation Naperus thirtie six.

Marching on againe from thence, we came to a Nation

called Zemie, subject to the foresaid Mapais. They live almost as the Boores doe with us, under the power of their Lords. In this journey we light upon fields tilled, and set with Mais, and other rootes, and these fruites and meates, are all the yeare long found in the fields; for before one reape and gather the one into the barne, another is ready for the harvest. And this also being reaped and gathered, it is time to sowe another. Turning aside thence, we came into another Towne, whose inhabitants when they saw us at hand, fled all away. This towne is foure leagues distant from the foresaid Mapais. Departing hence, and travailing six leagues in two dayes journey, we light on another Nation called Tohanna, but we found no men here, but great plenty of foode. The men of this Countrie also are subject to the Mapais.

Zemie.

Fields of Mais, &c.

Tohanna.

Going from hence we met with no Nation in our journey in foure dayes space. But the seventh day we came to a Nation called Peionas, foureteene leagues distant from the former Tohanna. In this Countrie a great number of people came together; and their Captaine came forth to meete us, guarded with a great multitude of men, yet peaceably, and earnestly besought our Generall not to enter into their Towne, but that we should stay without, in the place where he came to meete us; and our Generall would not consent, but directly marched forward, will he, nill he, entred into the Towne.

Peionas.

We staied with these Peionas three dayes, and our Generall demanded many things of them concerning the nature and condition of this Countrey. When we were to depart, these Peionas gave us an Interpreter and a guide, that we might finde water to drinke, for there is great scarcity of water in this Country; having travailed foure leagues, we came to a Nation called Mayegory, and staying one onely day there, taking an Interpreter againe, and a guide, we marched forward. And these people were gentle and curteous.

Mayegory.

Departing also from these people, when we had marched eight leagues, we came to a Nation, whose *Marronos.* people, which were many in number, were called Marronos. They also gently and curteously entertained us: we abode here two dayes, and receiving a relation of the nature, and condition of the place, taking also a guide with us, we went further forward. Departing foure leagues from these, we came to another Nation, yet not *Paronios.* so populous, called Paronios. This Countrie aboundeth not with victuall and foode, yet notwithstanding it is 3000. strong of men able for warre. In this Countrie we rested one day onely.

[IV. vii. 1364.] Having travailed twelve leagues from this place, we *Symanos.* came to a Nation, whose people are called Symamios, where a great multitude of men came together. Their towne is situate upon an high hill, and compassed round *Wall of bushes.* about with Bryar bushes, as with a wall.

46. We travailed sixteene leagues further in foure daies journey, and at length were brought unto a cer- *Barconos.* taine Nation, called Barconos: the men thereof, seeing our comming chanced to them beyond their expectation and opinion, presently betooke themselves to flight, as soone as wee came neere their towne; yet they could not escape out of our power. But when we onely craved foode of them, being very ready, they willingly gave us Hens, Geese, Sheepe, Estridges, Stags, and other foode abundance.

Departing thence, the third day after we came to a *Leyhannos.* Nation, whose people were called Leyhannos. They dwell twelve leagues removed from the former. These *Grashoppers.* people had but little foode, for the Grashoppers had corrupted almost all their fruites. Therefore resting one onely night with them, after having travailed sixteene leagues in foure dayes journey, we came to another *Carchconos.* Nation called Carchconos. The Grashoppers also had done them great displeasure, but had not so much hurt them as they had done the former: abiding with them one day, we understood this of the condition and quality

of the Countrie, that we should finde no water in foure and twenty or thirty leagues space: we approached to these Suboris in six dayes space: But many of our men died of thirst, although with these Carchconos we had furnished our selves with indifferent store of water for this journey. But in this journey we found a roote above ground, having great and broad leaves wherein water remaineth as it were in some vessels, nor is it powred out thence, nor also so easily consumed, and one of these rootes containeth about halfe a measure of water. These Suboris had great scarcitie of water also, neither had they any other thing besides to drink, and it had not now rained for three whole moneths: yet of the roote called Mandepore, they made drinke after this manner. They gather together the said roote into a Morter, and out of them being stamped they wring forth a juice like milke: if water may be had, wine also may be made of these rootes. In this Village there was one Well onely, which was to be kept by a watchman. So that we were not much troubled with the desire either of Silver or Gold, but the common complaint of all men, would be for want of water. In this Countrie farre and wide also no river waters are to be found beside these, but they use onely that water which they gather in the cisternes. These Suboris make warre with the bordering Indians, onely for water. The Suboris, who should have shewed us the way, by night privily stole away. We were therefore now to seeke out the way our selves, and at length we light upon those people called Peisennos; they refusing our friendship withstood us by armes, but got little at our hands. We tooke some of these Peisennos, who told us that there had bin three Spaniards in their towne, whereof one called Ikieronimus was a trumpeter, whom John Eyollas (who was sent by Don Petro Mendoza, to discover these Countries) left sicke there, as we have at large before rehearsed. They said therefore that the Peisennos had slaine these three Spaniards, foure daies before our comming thither,

Suboris.

They dye of thirst.

Roote holding water.

No raine in 3. moneths.

Drinke of a roote.

Peisennos.

being advertised thereof by the Suboris : but they should deerely pay for this fact of theirs. Abiding foureteene daies in their towne, we sought them round about us everie where, till at last taking them unawares in a wood, but not al, we partly slew them, & partly led them away captives.

Maigenes. 47. Taking our journey, at length we came to the Maigenes, but the people thereof resisting us with strong hand, would not entertaine us as friends. Their Towne being situate upon an hill, was compassed round on *Quickset wall.* everie side with a thicke and broad quickset hedge, as high as a man might reach with his Sword. Wee Christians therefore with our Carios, began to assault this Towne in two divers places. But in this assault twelve Christians, together with some few of the Carios were slaine, and they put us to a great deale of trouble, before we could take and win this towne.

Eight daies after the Towne taken five hundred of our Carios, taking their Bowes and Arrowes, departing secretly and without our privitie, about two or three leagues from our Campe, seeke out the Maigenos, who were fled. On whom when they lighted, these two *Fight betwixt Carios and Maigenos.* Nations fought with so great and constant resolution, that more then three hundred men of the Carios, but of the enemies, almost innumerable, were slaine ; for there was so great a multitude of them, that they spread almost a whole league in length. But the Carios sending a messenger to the towne where we were, earnestly entreated our Generall, that they would come with some supply of Souldiers to helpe them ; for the Maigenos had so beset them round in a wood, that they could neither goe forward nor returne backe againe.

Which when our Generall understood, he presently commandeth the Horses to be made ready, and to send away and dispatch one hundred and fiftie Christians, but of the Carios assembled a thousand men, leaving the rest of the Souldiers in the tents to guard them, that wee being absent, the Maigenos our enemies might invade

them. We went forth therefore with this force (to wit) the said horse, one hundred and fiftie Christians, and one thousand Carios, to helpe the Carios our friends. But so soone as the Maigenos perceived our comming, removing their tents, they committed themselves to flight, and albeit we pursued them with as much speede as wee could, yet could we never overtake them.

Returning therefore to our tents, we abode there three daies; for we had found in this towne of the Maiegenos, great plentie of foode, and other things. Having travailed a continuall journey of thirteene daies, that is to say (in our judgement and theirs who are skilfull in the celestiall motions) two and fiftie leagues, we came to a Nation, whose people are called Carcokies: and having travailed further the space of nine daies, we came into a certaine little Countrie, sixe leagues long and broad, which was all so thicke overspread with excellent Salt, as if it had sowed Salt in great abundance, and this Salt is not corrupted winter nor summer. [IV. vii. 1365.] *Carcokies.* *Salt Country.*

We rested two daies in this Salt Countrie, going forward, at length, after foure daies journey, we came to the foresaid Nation Carcokies: But when we were yet foure leagues from their towne, our Generall sent fiftie Christians, fiftie Carios to provide us lodgings. Having entred the towne, we found such an innumerable multitude of men gathered together, as in all this journey we had not seene the like: wherefore being very pensive and carefull above measure, sending a messenger presently backe unto our Generall: who taking his journey the very same evening, came unto us betweene three and foure of the clocke in the morning. But the Carcokies supposing there had bin no more men there then we, whom they had seene before, had now promised themselves the victorie. But when they understood that our Generall followed us with a greater force, they were very sad and sorrowfull, and performed all friendly offices and kindenesse unto us; for they could doe none other, seeing they were afraid of their wives, children, and their

towne. They brought us therefore flesh of Deere, Geese, Hens, Sheepe, Estridges, Conies, and whatsoever else of this kinde of Venison, and also of Birds, they had also *Samdela.* Turkish Coine, Wheate, Rise, and certaine Rootes, of all which things there was great plentie in this Countrie.

The men of this Countrie weare a blew stone in their lippes, as broad as a Dye. Their weapons are Darts, the staves of Speares, and round Targets made of the skins of the Indian Sheepe called Amidas. Their women have a little hole in their lips, in the which they put Christall either of a greene or blew colour: they have garments of Cotten, like to a shirt, but without sleeves: they are beautifull enough: they doe nothing else but spinne, and order things appertaining to the houshold; for tillage of the ground, and other things necessarie for the maintenance of the familie, are looked unto by the men.

48. When we had gone three daies journey from this *Machcasies.* towne, we came to a certaine River called Machcasies, a league and a halfe broad: and when we saw not how we might passe safely over without danger, at length we found out this meanes, that for every two persons wee should make a Boate of twigs and timber, whereon being carried downe the River, they might come to the other side of the banke; but in this passage foure of our men were drowned. This River hath most savourie Fish. Many Tygars also are found about these places, and this River is but foure leagues onely distant from the towne Machcasies.

The Inhabitants comming forth to meete us, entertained us curteously, speaking to us in the Spanish *Spanish tongue.* tongue, whereat being astonished and sore afraid at the *They arive in the Kingdome of Peru.* first, wee demanded of them to what Lord they were subject, and who was their supreame Governour? They therefore answered us, and our Captaine, that they were subject to a certaine Noble man in Spaine, whose name *Pedro Ausuetes.* was Petro Ausuetes.

Entring into this Towne, we found certaine men and

women, and little Infants also swarming with very little vermin, like our fleas. These little vermin, if they lay hold of the toes of the feete, or any other part of the body, they gnaw and enter alwaies more and more deepely in, and at length become wormes, such as are found in our filberds; yet if it be done in time, this mischiefe may be prevented, that it shall not hurt, but if deferring the cure it be neglected, at length by eating and gnawing, it consumeth and corrupteth whole toes. *Strange worms.*

From the often named Citie of the Assumption of Mary, to this Towne, are numbered (according to the account of the Astronomers) three hundred seventie two leagues. And when we had staied there about twentie daies, a Letter was brought us from a Citie of the Kingdome of Peru, called Lima, where the Viceroy or Lieutenant of Cæsars Majestie, who at that time was Liecutiatus Lagasca, had an house. The Letter contained, that our Generall Martin Don Fiottas should goe no further forward, upon paine of death, but abiding in the Towne Machcasies, should expect his further commandement. *A Letter on of Peru.*

But after this our Generall sent away foure persons to the Governor of Peru. These foure persons journying sixe weekes in Peru, came first to that Nation called Potasi, next to another called Rueskem. The third Nation to which they came, was called Plata, and the fourth, which was the Metropolis or the chiefe Citie, was called Lima. *Potosi.*

49. This also is worthie of observation. That the Countrie of Machcasies is so fruitfull, that we neither found, nor saw any like it in fruitfulnesse, in all this our Journey. For if an Indian going forth into the Wood, make an hole or a cleft in the first tree that commeth to hand, smiting an Hatchet into it, five or sixe measures of so pure Honie flowe out, as if it were sweete Wine, or Muskadell. The Bees that make this Honie are without stings, and are very small. This Honie being eaten with Bread, or mingled with other food, yeeldeth *Hony in trees.* *Bees without stings.*

pleasant meate. They make also Drinke thereof, or Wine, of the same taste that Maskadell hath, but sweeter. Our Generall Eyollas so wrought with the people, that wee could stay no longer here, by reason of the want of provision. For we had scarce victuall for one moneth.

In performing this Journey we spent a yeere and an halfe, doing nothing else, but making continuall warre. And in this Journey we had brought into our subjection about twelve thousand men, women, and children, who were compelled to serve us as bond-slaves: as I for mine owne person did possesse about fiftie men, women, and children.

Civill contentions.

50. Wee, with our Generall Martin Don Eyollas, came unto the Citie Assumption, but Abriego a Captaine which had rebelled against Captaine Mendoza, and slaine him would neither open the Citie to our Generall, nor yeeld it up unto him, nor acknowledge him for Generall, and his Governour.

But the said Diego Abriego, being forced to forsake the Citie with fiftie Christians, who joyned themselves with him, fled thirtie leagues from us, so that we could atchieve nothing against him. This warre continued two whole yeeres space betweene us, the two Captaines so opposing themselves one against the other, that neither was safe from danger of other.

51. In the meane season, while these things were thus done, I received Letters out of Spaine, and shewed to Martin Don Eyollas, I presently desired a friendly and curteous dismission from him, I tooke my Journey in the name of God, upon Saint Stephens Day, which was the sixe and twentieth of December, in the yeere 1552. and departing from the Assumption of Marie, carried upon the River of Plate, with my twentie Indians in two Canoas or Boats, when wee had now gone sixe and fortie leagues, we first arrived at a certaine Towne called Juberic Sabaie. In that Towne foure others also, together with two Portugals joyned themselves with us, having gone

Gaberetho.

fifteene leagues, we came to a Towne called Gaberetho.

After this having gone sixteene leagues further in foure dayes, we came to a certaine Village called Barotii. *Baroty.* Whence departing againe, having gone foure and fiftie leagues in nine dayes, wee came to a Towne called Barede, where staying two dayes, we sought provision *Barede.* and Boats to carrie us, for wee were to goe one hundred leagues up the River Parana by Boat. At length being brought to a certaine Towne called Gingie, wee abode *Gingie.* there foure dayes. And thus farre the Countrie and Empire of Cæsars Majestie extendeth it selfe, all which places in former time were subject to the People Carios.

52. After this therefore, all the Nation Toupin, beginneth the Countrie and Jurisdiction of the Portugall, and we were compelled, leaving Parana, and our Boats, to travell by land unto these Toupin, which continued sixe whole moneths; in which Journey we were to goe over Desarts, Mountaines and Valleyes, and for the feare waxed of wilde and ravening beasts, we durst not safely take our sleepe, &c.

Wee wandred eight whole dayes through Woods and Thickets, so that although having travelled farre and wide, yet in all my life time I had never gone so rough, troublesome, and tedious a way: nor had we any thing which we might eate, so that wee were compelled to sustaine our selves with Honie, and Roots, wheresoever we could get them: and for the danger also, to wit, that we feared lest our enemies would pursue us, we had not so much time as to take any venison.

After this wee came to a Nation called Biesaie, where *Biesaie.* staying foure dayes, wee provided our selves againe of victuall, but durst not come neere their Towne, because we were so few.

In this Countrie there is a River called Urquam, *River Urquam.* wherein we saw Water-snakes, and Serpents called Tuesca, in the Spanish Tongue Scheue Eyba, which were *Huge Water-snakes.* sixteene paces long, and foure fathome thicke. These Serpents doe much hurt: for if a man wash himselfe in that River, or any beast swim over, forthwith such a

Serpent swimming to them, windeth his tayle about the man, or beast, and drawing them under water, devoureth them.

Proceeding further hence we travelled about one hundred leagues, in a continued Journey of a whole moneths space, and at length came into a large Towne called Scheuetveba, and rested there three dayes.

Scheuetveba.

Going againe further, we came into a certaine Towne of Christians, whose Captaine was John Reinveill.

53. Moreover, proceeding further thence, we came to the Towne of Saint Vincent. From the Citie of the Assumption of Marie, to the Towne of Saint Vincent in Brasill, are reckoned three hundred and seventie leagues.

Setting sayle from the Towne of Saint Vincent, on Saint John Baptists Day, which was the foure and twentieth of June, in the yeere of our Lord 1553. wee arrived at Lisbon, the third of September, in the yeere 1553. and while wee abode fourteene dayes there, two of my Indians died, which I brought with me out of those Countries.

He arrived at Antwerpe, whence he had set forth at first, in Januarie 1554.

I had thought here to have added the Voyages of Johannes Stadius, (another German, which served the Portugals in Brasill about Schmidels later time) published in Theodore de Bry; and had the same by me translated. But contayning little light for the Countrie, and People; and relating in manner onely his owne Tragedies, in his taking by the Savages, and often perils of being eaten by them, as some of his friends were before his face, with other like Savage arguments wherewith wee have glutted you alreadie: I being alreadie too voluminous, have omitted the same, and hasten to other Relations.

A.D. 1593.

Chap. V.

[IV. vii. 1367.]

The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knight, in his Voyage into the South Sea. An. Dom. 1593. once before published, now reviewed and corrected by a written Copie, illustrated with notes, and in divers places abbreviated.

§. I.

What happened in this Voyage before they came neere the Æquinoctiall Line; with divers accidentall Discourses usefull for Navigators.

Ith the Counsels consent, and helpe of my Father, Sir John Hawkins, Knight, I resolved a Voyage to be made for the Ilands of Japan, of the Philippinas, and Moluccas, the Kingdome of China, and East Indies, by the way of the Straites of Magelan, and the South Sea.

For this purpose in the end of the yeere 1588. returning from the Journey against the Spanish Armado, I caused a Ship to bee builded in the River of Thames, betwixt three and foure hundred tunnes, which was finished in that perfection as could be required. For shee was pleasing to the eye, profitable for stowage, good of sayle, and well conditioned. On the day of her lanching, shee was named, The Repentance.

This ship was named the Repentance: an ominous name and unfortunate, as usually those celestiall characters sort not to terrestriall fabrikes: instanced in the Revenge, Thunderbolt, and this Repentance, with the Jesus of Sir Jo. Hawk.

The Repentance being put in perfection, and riding at Detford, the Queenes Majestie passing by her, to her Palace of Greenwich, commanded her Barge-men to rowe round about her, and viewing her from Post to Stemme, disliked nothing but her Name, and said, that shee would Christen her a new, and that thenceforth shee should bee called the Daintie; which name shee brooked as well for her proportion and grace, as for the many happie Voyages shee made in her Majesties services: Having taken (for her Majestie) a great Bysten, of five

hundred tunnes, loden with Iron, and other Commodities, under the conduct of Sir Martin Furbusher; A Carack bound for the East Indies, under my Fathers charge, and the principall cause of taking the great Carack, brought to Dartmouth by Sir John Borrow, and the Earle of Cumberlands ships, Anno 1592. with others of moment in her other Voyages. To us, shee never brought but cost, trouble, and care.

Considerations for pretended Voyages.

Having made an estimate of the charge of Victuals, Munition, Imprests, Sea-store, and necessaries for the said ship; consorting another of an hundred tunnes, which I waited for daily from the Straites of Giberalter, with a Pinnace of sixtie tunnes, all mine owne: And for a competent number of men for them; as also of all sorts of merchandises for trade and trafficke in all places where we should come; I began to wage men, to buy all manner of victuals & provisions, and to lade her with them, and with all sorts of commodities (which I could call to minde) fitting; and dispatched order to my servant in Plimouth, to put in a readinesse my Pinnace; as also to take up certaine provisions, which are better cheape in those parts then in London, as Beefe, Porke, Bisket, and Sider. The eight of Aprill, 1593. I caused the Pilot to set sayle from Black-wall, and to vaile downe to Graves-end, whither that night I purposed to come. And for that shee was very deepe loden, and her Ports open, the water beganne to enter in at them; which no bodie having regard unto, thinking themselves, safe in the River, it augmented in such manner, as the weight of the water began to presse downe the side, more then the winde: At length when it was seene and the sheete flowne, she could hardly be brought upright. But God was pleased, that with the diligence and travell of the Companie, shee was freed of that danger: which may be a gentle warning to all such as take charge of shipping, even before they set sayle, either in River or Harbour, or other part, to have an eye to their Ports, and to see those shut and calked,

Provisions better provided at Plimouth, then at London.

Note. Danger of Ports open.

which may cause danger; for avoiding the many mishaps, which daily chance for the neglect thereof, and have beene most lamentable spectacles and examples unto us: Experiments in the Great Harrie, Admirall of England, which was over-set and sunke at Portsmouth with her Captaine Carew, and the most part of his companie drowned in a goodly Summers day, with a little flaw of winde; for that her Ports were all open, and making a small hele, by them entred their destruction; where if they had beene shut, no winde could have hurt her, especially in that place. In the River of Thames, Master Thomas Candish had a small ship overset through the same negligence. And one of the Fleet of Sir Francis Drake, in Santo Domingo Harbour, turned her keele upward likewise, upon the same occasion; with many others, which we never have knowledge of.

Comming neere the South fore-land, the winde began to vere to the South-east and by South, so as we could not double the point of the Land, and being close aboord the shoare, and putting our ship to stay, what with the chapping Sea, and what with the Tide upon the Bowe, she mist staying, and put us in some danger, before we could flat about; therefore for doubling the Point of any Land better is ever a short boord, then to put all in perill. [IV. vii. 1368.]

Being cleere of the race of Portland, the winde began to suffle with fogge and misling raine, and forced us to a short sayle, which continued with us three dayes; the winde never vering one point, nor the fogge suffering us to see the Coast. The third day in the fogge, we met with a Barke of Dartmouth, which came from Rochell, and demanding of them, if they had made any land, answered, that they had onely seene the Edie stone that morning, which lieth thwart of the Sound of Plimouth, and that Dartmouth (as they thought) bare off us North North-east: which seemed strange unto us: for we made account that wee were thwart of Exmouth: within two houres after, the weather beganne

to cleere up, and wee found our selves thwart of the Berry, and might see the small Barque bearing into Torbay, having over-shot her Port: which errour often happeneth to those that make the land in foggie weather, and use not good diligence by sound, by lying off the land, and other circumstances, to search the truth; and is cause of the losse of many a ship, and the sweete lives of multitudes of men. That evening, wee anchored in the range of Dartmouth, till the floud was spent; and the ebbe come, wee set sayle againe. And the next morning early, being the sixe and twentieth of Aprill, we harboured our selves in Plimouth.

Parts requisite in a good Mariner.

And in this occasion, I found by experience, that one of the principall parts required in a Mariner, that frequenteth our coastes of England, is to cast his Tides, and to knowe how they set from point to point, with the difference of those in the Channell from those of the shoare.

After the hurts by a cruell storme (in which the Pinnace was sunke, and the Dainties Mast cut over-boord) repaired, I beganne to gather my companie aboord, which occupied my good friends, and the Justices of the Towne two dayes, and forced us to search all lodgings, Taverns, and Ale-houses. (For some would ever bee taking their leave and never depart:) some drinke themselves so drunke, that except they were carried aboord, they of themselves were not able to goe one steppe: others knowing the necessitie of the time, faigned themselves sicke; others to bee indebted to their Hosts, and forced mee to ransome them; one his Chest; another, his Sword; another, his Shirts; another, his Carde and Instruments for Sea: And others, to benefit themselves of the Imprest given them, absented themselves; making a lewd living in deceiving all, whose money they could lay hold of: which is a scandall too rife amongst our Sea-men; by it they committing three great offences. First, Robberie of the goods of another person: Secondly, Breach of their faith and promise:

Abuses of some Seafaring men.

Thirdly, Hinderance (with losse of time) unto the Voyage; all being a common injurie to the owners, victuallers, and companie; which many times hath beene an utter overthrow, and undoing to all in generall. An abuse in our Commonwealth necessarily to be reformed.

Master Thomas Candish.

Master Thomas Candish in his last Voyage, in the Sound of Plimouth, being readie to set sayle, complained unto mee, that persons which had absented themselves in Imprests, had cost him above a thousand and five hundred pounds: These Varlets within a few dayes after his departure, I saw walking the streetes of Plimouth, whom the Justice had before sought for with great diligence, and without punishment. And therefore it is no wonder that others presume to doe the like. Impunitas peccandi illecebra. The like complaint made Master George Reymond; and in what sort they dealt with mee, is notorious, and was such, that if I had not beene provident, to have had a third part more of men, then I had need of, I had beene forced to goe to the Sea unmanned; or to give over my Voyage. And many of my companie, at Sea vaunted how they had cousened the Earle of Cumberland, Master Candish, Master Reymond, and others, some of five poundes, some of tenne, some of more, and some of lesse. And truely, I thinke, my Voyage prospered the worse, for theirs and other lewd persons companie, which were in my ship: which, I thinke, might be redressed by some extraordinarie, severe, and present Justice to bee executed on the offenders by the Justice in that place, where they should bee found.

Master George Reymond.

Note.

He addes another remedie in taking away imprests.

The consequence of Instructs at departure.

The greater part of my companie gathered aboord, I set sayle the twelfth of June, 1593. I cannot but advise all such, as shall have charge committed unto them, ever before they depart out of the Port, to give unto their whole Fleet not directions for civill government, but also where, when, and how to meete, if they should chance to lose companie, and the signes how to knowe one another afarre off, with other points and circum-

stances, as the occasions shall minister matter different, at the discretion of the wise Commander, by publication of that which is good and necessarie for the guide of his Fleet and people; but all secret instructions, to give them sealed, and not to be opened, but comming to a place appointed.

Lanching out into the channell, the winde being at East and by South, and east South-east, which blowing hard, and a floud in hand, caused a chapping Sea, and my Vice-admirall bearing a good sayle made some water, and shooting off a Peece of Ordnance, I edged towards her, to knowe the cause; who answered me, that they had sprung a great leake, and that of force they must returne into the Sound, which seeing to be necessarie, I cast about, where anchoring, and going aboord, presently found, that betwixt winde and water, the Calkers had left a seame uncalked, which being filled up with Pitch onely, the Sea labouring that out, had beene sufficient to have sunke her in short space, if it had not beene discovered in time.

[IV. vii. 1369.]

False calking.

For prevention thereof.

And for more securitie, I hold it for a good custome used in some parts, in making an end of calking and pitching the ship, the next tide to fill her with water, which will undoubtedly discover the defect, for no pitcht place without calking, can suffer the force and peaze of the water. In neglect whereof, I have seene great damage and danger to ensue. The Arke Royall of his Majesties, may serve for an example: which put all in danger at her first going to the Sea, by a trivuell-hole left open in the post, and covered onely with Pitch. In this point no man can be too circumspect, for it is the securitie of ship, men, and goods.

Example. See Capt. Prings last Voyage: in which the Great James was oft endangered thereby.

This being remedied, I set sayle in the morning, and ranne South-west, till wee were cleare of Usshent; and then South South-west, till wee were some hundred leagues off, where wee met with a great Hulke, of some five or sixe hundred tunnes, well appointed, the which my companie, (as is natural to all Mariners) presently

would make a prize, and loden with Spaniards goods, and without speaking to her, wished that the Gunner might shoot at her, to cause her to amain. Which is a bad custome received and used of many ignorant persons, presently to gunne at all whatsoever they discover, before they speake with them; being contrarie to all discipline, and many times is the cause of dissention betwixt friends, and the breach of Amitie betwixt Princes; the death of many, and sometimes losse of ships and all, making many obstinate, if not desperate.

Advice for shooting at Sea.

Two English ships have hereby much wronged each other by mistaking.

Comming within the hayling of the Hulke, we demanded whence she was? whither she was bound? and what her loding? Shee answered, that she was of Denmarke comming from Spaine, loden with Salt: we willed her to strike her Top-sayles, which shee did, and shewed us her Charter-parties, and Bils of loding, and then saluted us, as is the manner of the Sea, and so departed.

The Madera Ilands.

Wee directed our course to the Maderas. The Madera Ilands are two: the great, called La Madera, and the other Porto Santo; of great fertilitie, and rich in Sugar, Conserves, Wine, and sweet Wood, whereof they take their name. Other commodities they yeeld, but these are the principall. The chiefe Towne and Port is on the Souther side of the Madera, well fortified; they are subject to the Kingdome of Portugall; the Inhabitants and Garrison all Portugals.

Canarie Ilands.

The third of Julie, wee past along the Ilands of Canaria, which have the name of a Kingdome, and containe these seven Ilands, Grand Canaria, Tenerifa, Palma, Gomera, Lancerota, Forteventura, and Fierro. These Ilands have abundance of Wine, Sugar, Conserves, Orcall Pitch, Iron, and other commodities, and store of Cattell and Corne, but that a certaine Worme, called Gorgosho, breedeth in it, which eateth out the substance, leaving the huske in manner whole. The head Iland, where the Justice, which they call Audiencia, is resident; and whither all suits have their appellation, and finall sentence, is the Grand Canaria, although the Tenerifa is held for the

Gorgosho.

better and richer Iland, and to have the best Sugar: and the Wine of the Palma is reputed for the best. The Pitch of these Ilands melteth not with the Sunne, and therefore is proper for the higher workes of shipping. Betwixt Forteventura and Lancerota is a goodly Sound, fit for a meeting place for any Fleet. Where is good anchoring, and abundance of many sorts of Fish. There is water to be had in most of these Ilands, but with great vigilance. For the naturals of them are venturous and hardie, and many times clime up and downe the steepe Rockes and broken Hills, which seeme impossible, which I would hardly have beleeved, had I not seene it, and that with the greatest arte and agilitie that may bee: Their Armes for the most part, are Lances of nine or ten foot, with a head of a foot and halfe long, like unto Boare-speares, save that the head is somewhat more broad.

The description of Tenerif. and the Pike.

Two things are famous in these Ilands, the Pike of Tenerifa, which is the highest Land in my judgement that I have seene, and men of credite have told they have seene it more then fortie leagues off. It is like unto a Sugar loafe, and continually covered with Snowe, and placed in the middest of a goodly Valley, most fertile, and temperate round about it. Out of which, going up the pike, the cold is so great, that it is unsufferable, and going downe to the Townes of the Iland, the heat seemeth most extreme, till they approch neere the coast. The other is a tree in the Iland Fierro*, which some

*Of a Tree in Fierro. One M. Lewis Jackson, now dwelling in Holborne, told me that A. 1618. he had beene in this Iland, and seene this Tree, which he thus described; It is as big as an Oake of middle size, the barke white like Hardbeame; sixe or seven yards high, with ragged boughs; the leafe like that of the Bay, white on the bottome, and greene on the other side. It beareth neither fruit nor flower. It is scituate in the declivitie of a Hill; in the day it is withered, dropping in the night (a cloude hanging thereon) yeelding water sufficient for the whole Iland; which containeth 8000. soules, and above 100000. beasts, Camels, Mules, Goates, &c. It falls into a Pond made of bricke, floored with stones very thight, by pipes of Lead con-

write & affirme, with the dropping of his leaves, to give water for the sustenance of the whole Iland, which I have not seene, although I have beene on shoare on the Iland: but those which have seene it, have recounted this mysterie differently to that which is written, in this manner; That this Tree is placed in the bottome of a Valley ever flourishing with broad leaves, and that round about it are a multitude of goodly high Pines, which over-top it, and as it seemeth, were planted by the Divine providence, to preserve it from Sunne and winde. Out of this Valley ordinarily rise every day, great vapours and exhalations, which by reason that the Sunne is hindered to worke his operation, with the height of the Mountaine towards the South-east, convert themselves into moisture, and so bedew all the trees of the Valley, and from those which over-top this Tree, drops downe the dew upon his leaves, and so from his leaves into a round Well of stone, which the Naturals of the Land have made to receive the water; of which the people and cattell have great reliefe: but sometimes it raineth and then the Inhabitants doe reserve water for many dayes to come in their Cisternes and Tynaxes, which is that they drinke of, and wherewith they principally sustaine themselves. [IV. vii. 1370.]

The Citie of the Grand Canaria, and chiefe Port is on the West side of the Iland; the head Towne and Port of Tenerifa, is towards the South part, and the Port and Towne of the Palma and Gomera, on the East

veighed from the Tree to it, and thence divided into severall Ponds through all the Iland. They which dwell up-hill fetch it in barrels. They water therewith also their Corne-grounds. The Pond holds 20000. tuns, and is filled in a night. He added a report (perhaps devised to keepe off busie fingers, or with busie tongues to multiplie wonders) that the Moores having taken that Iland from the Christians, went to fell that Tree, but each blowe recoyled on the striker. Hee affirmed also that he had beene up the Pike of Teneriff, two miles. He saith the South side is healthfull, the North very Aguish, and subject to Calentures; and the Inhabitants on one side looke lustie, on the other withered.

side. In Gomera, some three leagues Southward from the Towne, is a great River of water, but all these Ilands are perilous to land in, for the siege caused by the Ocean Sea, which alwaies is forcible, and requireth great circumspection; whosoever hath not urgent cause, is either to goe to the Eastwards, or to the Westwards of all these Ilands, as well to avoide the calmes, which hinder sometimes eight or ten dayes sayling, as the contagion which their distemperature is wont to cause, and with it to breede Calenturas, which wee call burning Fevers. These Ilands are said to be first discovered by a Frenchman, called John de Betancourt, about the yeere 1405. They are now a Kingdome subject to Spaine.

The first discoverers of these Ilands.

Exercises upon the Southwards of the Canaries.

Being cleare of the Ilands, and seeing my selfe past hope of returning backe, without some extraordinarie accident, I began to set order in my Companie and victuals. And for that, to the Southwards of the Canaries, is for the most part an idle Navigation, I devised to keepe my people occupied, as well to continue them in health (for that too much ease in hot Countries is neither profitable nor healthful) as also to divert them from remembrance of their home; & from play, which breedeth many inconveniences, and other bad thoughts and workes which idlenesse is cause of; and so shifting my companie, as the custome is, into Starboord and Larboord men, the halfe to watch and worke whilest the others slept, and take rest; I limited the three dayes of the weeke, which appertained to each, to be employed in this manner: the one for the use and cleansing of their Armes, the other for roomaging, making of Sayles, Nettings, Decking, and defenses of our Ships; and the third, for cleansing their bodies, mending and making their apparell, and necessaries, which though it came to be practised but once in seven dayes, for that the Sabboth is ever to be reserved for God alone, with the ordinarie obligation which each person had besides, was many times of force to be omitted; and thus wee directed our course betwixt the Ilands of Cape de Verde and the

Cape de Verde.

Maine. These Ilands are held to bee scituate in one of the most unhealthiest Climates of the world, and therefore it is wisedome to shunne the sight of them, how much more to make abode in them?

The unwholsomenesse thereof.

In two times that I have beene in them, either cost us the one halfe of our people, with Fevers and Fluxes of sundrie kindes; some shaking, some burning, some partaking of both; some possest with frensie, others with slouth, and in one of them it cost mee sixe moneths sicknesse, with no small hazard of life: which I attribute to the distemperature of the aire, for being within fourteene degrees of the Equinoctiall Line, the Sunne hath great force all the yeere, and the more for that often they passe, two, three, and foure yeeres without raine; and many times the earth burneth in that manner as a man well shod, cannot indure to goe where the Sunne shineth. With which extreme heate the bodie fatigated, greedily desireth refreshing, and longeth for the comming of the Breze, which is the North-east winde, that seldome fayleth in the afternoone at foure of the clocke, or sooner: which comming cold and fresh, and finding the pores of the bodie open, and (for the most part) naked, penetrateth the very bones, and so causeth sudden distemperature, and sundrie manners of sicknesse, as the Subjects are divers, whereupon they worke. Departing out of the Calmes of the Ilands, and comming into the fresh Breze, it causeth the like, and I have seene within two dayes, after that wee have partaked of the fresh aire, of two thousand men above an hundred and fiftie have beene crazed in their health. The Inhabitants of these Ilands use a remedie for this, which at my first being amongst them, seemed unto mee ridiculous, but since, time and experience hath taught to bee grounded upon reason. And is, that upon their heads they weare a Night-cap, upon it a Moutero, and a Hat over that, and on their bodies a sute of thicke Cloth, and upon it a Gowne, furr'd or lined with Cotton, or Bayes, to defend them from the heate in that manner,

The heate.

The Breze.

Another cause of Fevers is the dewes which fall every night: so that the exceeding moisture and unsoundnesse thereof causeth men lying or watching in the open aire to fall sicke.

The remedie.

as the Inhabitants of cold Countries, to guard themselves from the extremitie of the cold. Which doubtlesse, is the best diligence that any man can use, and whosoever proveth it, shall finde himselfe lesse annoyed with the heate, then if he were thinly cloathed, for that where the cold aire cometh, it pierceth not so subtilly.

[IV. vii. 1371.] *The influence of the Moone in hot Countries.*

The Moone also in this climate, as in the coast of Guynne, and in all hot Countries, hath forcible operation in the body of man; and therefore, as the Plannet, most prejudiciall to his health, is to be shunned; as also not to sleepe in the open Ayre, or with any Scuttle or Window open, whereby the one or the other may enter to hurt. For a person of credit told me, that one night in a River of Guynne, leaving his window open in the side of his Cabin, the Moone shining upon his shoulder, left him with such an extraordinary paine, and furious burning in it, as in above twenty houres, he was like to run mad; but in fine, with force of Medicines and cures, after long torment he was eased.

Of these Ilands are two pyles: the one of them lyeth out of the way of Trade, more Westerly, and so little frequented: the other lyeth some fourescore leagues from the Maine, and containeth sixe in number, to wit, Saint Iago, Fuego, Mayo, Bonavisto, Sal, and Bravo. They are belonging to the Kingdome of Portugall, and inhabited by people of that Nation, and are of great trade, by reason of the neighbourhood they have with Guynne and Bynne: but the principall is, the buying and selling of Negros. They have store of Sugar, Salt, Rice, Cotten-wooll, and Cotton-cloth, Ambergreece, Cyvit, Olyphants teeth, Brimstone, Pummy stone, Spunge, and some Gold, but little, and that from the mayne.

Saint Iago.

Saint Iago is the head Iland, and hath one Citie and two townes, with their Ports. The Citie called Saint Iago, whereof the Iland hath his name, hath a Garrison and two Forts, scituated in the bottome of a pleasant Valley, with a running streame of water passing through the middest of it, whether the rest of the Ilands come

for Justice, being the seate of the Audiencia, with his Bishop. The other Townes are Playa, some three leagues to the Eastwards of Saint Iago, placed on high, with a goodly Bay, whereof it hath his name: and Saint Domingo, a small Towne within the Land. They are on the Souther part of the Iland, and have beene sacked sundry times in Anno 1582. by Manuel Serades, a Portugall, with a Fleete of French-men: in Anno 1585. they were both burnt to the ground by the English, Sir Francis Drake being Generall: and in Anno 1596. Saint Iago was taken, and sacked by the English, Sir Anthony Sherley being Generall. The second Iland is Fuego, so called, for that day and night there burneth in it a Vulcan, whose flames in the night are seene twentie leagues off in the Sea. It is by nature fortified in that sort, as but by one way is any accesse or entrance into it, and there cannot goe up above two men a brest. The Bread which they spend in these Ilands, is brought from Portugall and Spaine, saving that which they make of Rice or of Mayes, which we call Guynne wheate. The best watering is in the Ile of Bravo, on the west part of the Iland, where is a great River, but foule Anchoring, as is in all these Ilands, for the most part. The fruits are few, but substantiall, as Palmitos, Plantanos, Potatos, and Coco Nuts.

Sacked by Manuel Serades, Sir Francis Drake, and Sir Anthony Sherley.

Fuego.

Fiery hill.

Bravo, good watering.

The Palmito is like to the Date tree, and as I thinke a kinde of it, but wilde. In all parts of Afrique and America they are found, and in some parts of Europe, and in divers parts different. In Afrique and in the West Indies they are small, that a man may cut them with a knife, and the lesser the better. But in Brasil they are so great, that with difficulty a man can fell them with an Axe, and the greater the better: one foote within the top is profitable, the rest is of no value, and that which is to be eaten is the pith, which in some is better, in some worse.

The Palmito.

The Plantane is a tree found in most parts of Afrique and America, of which two leaves are sufficient to cover

The Plantane, great leaves.

a man from top to toe: It beareth fruite but once, and then drieth away, and out of his root sprouteth up others new. In the top of the tree is his fruit, which groweth in a great bunch, in the forme and fashion of puddings, in some more, in some lesse. I have seene in one bunch above foure hundred Plantans, which have weighed above fourescore pound waight. They are of divers proportions, some great, some lesser, some round, some square, some triangle, most ordinarily of a span long, with a thicke skinne that peeleth easily from the meate; which is either white or yellow, and very tender like Butter; but no conserve is better, nor of a more pleasing taste. For I never have seene any man, to whom they have bred mislike, or done hurt with eating much of them, as of other fruites. The best are those which ripen naturally on the tree, but in most parts they cut them off in branches, and hang them up in their houses, and eate them as they ripe. For the Birds and Vermine presently in ripning on the tree, are feeding on them. The best that I have seene are in Brasil, in an Iland called *Placentia.* Placentia, which are small and round, and greene when they are ripe: whereas the others in ripening become yellow. Those of the West Indies and Guynne are great, and one of them sufficient to satisfie a man: the onely fault they have is, that they are windie. In some places they eate them instead of bread, as in Panama, and other parts of Tierra firme. They grow and prosper best when their rootes are ever covered with water; they are excellent in Conserve, and good sodden in different manners, and dried on the tree, not inferior to Suckets.

The Cocos, & their kindes. The Coco nut is a fruit of the fashion of a Hazell-nut, but that it is as bigge as an ordinary Bowle, and some are greater. It hath two shels, the uttermost framed (as it were) of a multitude of threds, one laid upon another, with a greene-skin over-lapping them, which is soft and thicke: the innermost is like to the shell of a Hasell-nut in all proportion, saving that it is greater and

thicker, and some more blacker. In the top of it is the forme of a Munkies face, with two eyes, his nose and a mouth. It containeth in it both meate and drinke, the meate white as milke, and like to that of the kernell of a Nut, and as good as Almonds blancht, and of great quantity: The water is cleare, as of the Fountaine, and pleasing in taste, and somewhat answereth that of the water distilled of Milke. Some say it hath a singular property in nature, for conserving the smoothnesse of the skin; and therefore in Spaine and Portugall, the curious Dames doe ordinarily wash their faces and necks with it. If the holes of the shell be kept close, they keepe foure or six moneths good and more; but if it be opened, and the water kept in the shell, in few daies it turneth to Vinegar. They grow upon high Trees, which have no boughes, only in the top they have a great cap of leaves, and under them groweth the fruite upon certaine twigges; and some affirme that they beare not fruite before they be above forty yeares old. They are in all things like to the Palme trees, and grow in many parts of Asia, Afrique and America. The shels of these nuts are much esteemed for drinking cups, and much cost and labour is bestowed upon them in carving, graving and garnishing them, with Silver, Gold, and precious stones. [IV. vii. 1372.]

In the Kingdome of Chile and in Brasil, is another kinde of these, which they call Coquillos, as we may interpret (little Cocos) and are as bigge as Wal-nuts, but round and smooth, and grow in great clusters: the trees in forme are all one, and the meate in the nut better, but they have no water. *Coquillos.*

Another kinde of great Cocos groweth in the Andes of Peru, which have not the delicate meate nor drinke, which the others have, but within are full of Almonds, which are placed as the graines in the Pomegrannet, being three times bigger then those of Europe, and are much like them in taste. *A third kinde.*

In these Ilands are Cyvet-Cats, which are also found *Cyvet-Cats.*

in parts of Asia, and Afrique; esteemed for the Civet they yeelde, and carry about them in a cod in their hinder parts, which is taken from them by force. In them also are store of Monkies, and the best proportioned that I have seen; and Parrots, but of colour different to those of the West Indies; for they are of a russet or gray colour and great speakers.

Munkeyes.

Parrots.

§. II.

Considerations of Currents: the Scorbute: fire in Ships; Fishes which attend them: Sea-hawking and hunting: their comming to Brasil and observations thereof.

With a faire and large winde we continued our course, till we came within five degrees of the Equinoctiall line, where the winde tooke us contrary by the South-west, about the twentieth of July, but a faire gale of winde and a smooth Sea, so that wee might beare all a *tawt: and to advantage our selves what we might, we stood to the Eastwards, being able to lye South-east and by South. The next day about nine of the clock, my company being gathered together to serve God, which we accustomed to doe every morning and evening, it seemed unto me that the colour of the Sea was different to that of the daies past, and which is ordinarily where is deepe water; and so called the Captaine and Master of my Ship, I told them that to my seeming the water was become very whitish, and that it made shew of Sholde water. Whereunto they made answere, that all the lines in our Ships could not fetch ground: for we could not be lesse then threescore and ten leagues off the Coast, which all that kept reckoning in the Ship agreed upon, and my selfe was of the same opinion. And so we applied our selves to serve God, but all the time that the service endured, my heart could not be at rest, and still me thought the water began to waxe whiter and whiter. Our prayers

**Tawt or taught, a Sea-terme, fig. stiffe and fast.*

Morning and evening praier.

Change of water.

ended, I commanded a leade and a line to be brought, and having the lead in foureteene fathoms wee had ground, which put us all into a maze, and sending men into the top, presently discovered the land of Guynne, some five leagues from us, very low Land. I commanded a Peece to be shot, and lay by the lee till my other Ships came up. Which hailing us, we demanded of them how farre they found themselves off the land; who answered, some threescore and ten, or fourescore leagues: when we told them we had sounded, and found but foureteene fathoms, and that we were in sight of Land, they began to wonder; But having consulted what was best to be done, I caused my Shallop to be manned, which I towed at the Sterne of my Shippe continually, and sent her and my Pinnace a head to sound, and followed them with an easie sayle, till we came in seven and six fathome water, and some two leagues from the shore anchored, in hope by the Sea, or by the Land to finde some refreshing. The Sea wee found to be barren of fish, and my Boates could not discover any landing place, though a whole day they had rowed alongst the coast, with great desire to set foote on shore, for that the sedge was exceeding great and dangerous. Which experienced, we set saile, notwithstanding the contrariety of the winde, sometimes standing to the West-wards, sometimes to the East-wards, according to the shifting of the winde.

Error in reckoning.

Here is to be noted, that the errour which we fell into in our accompts, was such as all men fall into where are currants that set East or West, and are not known, for that there is no certain rule yet practised for triall of the longitude, as there is of the latitude, though some curious and experimented of our Nation, with whom I have had conference about this point, have shewed me two or three manner of wayes how to know it. This, some yeares before was the losse of the Edward Cotton, bound for the coast of Brasil, which taken with the winde contrarie neere the line,

[IV. vii. 1373.]

Note.

The losse of the Edward Cotton.

standing to the East-wards, and making accompt to be fiftie or sixtie leagues off the coast, with all her sailes standing, came suddenly a ground upon the sholes of Madrebomba; and so was cast away.

Current-consideration. This currant from the line Equinoctiall, to twentie degrees Northerly, hath great force, and setteth next of anything East, directly upon the shore, which we found by this meanes: Standing to the Westwards, the winde Southerly, when we lay with our Ships head West and by South, we gained in our height more then if we had made our way good West South-west, for that the currant tooke us under the bow: but lying west or West & by North, we lost more in twelve houres then the other way we could get in foure and twentie. By which plainly we saw, that the currant did set East next of any thing. Whether this currant runneth ever one way, or doth alter, and how, we could by no meanes understand, but tract of time and observation will discover this, as it hath done of many others in sundry Seas.

New found-land Current. The currant that setteth betwixt New-found-land and Spaine, runneth also East and West, and long time deceived many, and made some to count the way longer, and others shorter, according as the passage was speedie or slow, not knowing that the furtherance or hinderance of the currant was cause of the speeding or slowing of the way. And in Sea Cards I have seene difference of above thirtie leagues betwixt the Iland Tercera and the Maine. And others have recounted unto me, that comming from the Indies, and looking out for the Ilands of Azores, they have had sight of Spaine. And some have looked out for Spaine, and have discovered the Ilands. *Levant Sea.* The selfe same currant is in the Levant Sea, but runneth trade betwixt the Maines, and change-able sometimes to the Eastwards, sometimes to the West-wards. *Brasil and South Sea.* In Brasil and the South Sea, the currant likewise is changeable, but it runneth ever alongst the Coast, accompanying the winde: and it is an infallible

rule, that twelve or twentie foure houres (before the winde alters) the currant begins to change.

In the West Indies onely the currant runneth continually one way, and setteth alongst the coast from the Equinoctiall line towards the North. No man hath yet found that these currants keepe any certaine time or runne so many dayes or moneths, one way as another, as doth the course of ebbing and flowing, well knowne in all Seas: onely neere the shoare they have small force; partly, because of the reflux which the coast causeth, and partly for the ebbing and flowing which more or lesse is generall in most Seas.

Currents of smaller force neere the shore.

When the currant runneth North or South, it is easily discovered by augmenting or diminishing the height, but how to know the setting of the currant from East to West in the maine Seas, is difficult, and as yet I have not knowne any man, or read any Author, that hath prescribed any certaine meane or way to discover it. But experience teacheth, that in the maine Sea, for the most part it is variable; and therefore best and safest rule to prevent the danger (which the uncertaintie and ignorance hereof may cause) is carefull and continuall watch by day and night, and upon the East and West course ever to be before the Ship, and to use the meanes possible to know the errour, by the rules which new Authors may teach: beating off and on, sometimes to the Westwards, sometimes to the Eastwards, with a faire gale of winde.

A discourse of the Scurvey, or Scorbute.

Being betwixt three and foure degrees of the Equinoctiall line, my Company within a few daies began to fall sicke, of a disease which Sea-men are wont to call the Scurvie: and seemeth to be a kinde of dropsie, and raigneth most in this climate of any that I have heard or read of in the world; though in all Seas it is wont to helpe and increase the miserie of man; it possesseth all those of which it taketh hold, with a loathsome sloathfulnesse, that even to eate they would be content to change with sleepe and rest, which is the most

pernicious enemie in this sicknesse that is knowne. It bringeth with it a great desire to drinke, and causeth a generall swelling of all parts of the body, especially of the legges and gummes, and many times the teeth fall out of the jawes without paine. The signes to know this disease in the beginning are divers, by the swelling of the gummes, by denting of the flesh of the legges with a mans finger, the pit remaining without filling up in a good space: others show it with their lasinesse, others complaine of the cricke of the backe, &c. all which, are for the most part, certaine tokens of infection. The cause is thought to be the stomacks feeblenesse, by change of aire in untemperate climates, of diet in salt meates, boiled also in Salt water and corrupted sometimes; the want of exercise also either in persons or elements, as in calmes. And were it not for the moving of the Sea by the force of windes, tydes, and currants, it would corrupt all the world. The experience I saw in Anno 1590. lying with a Fleete of her Majesties Ships about the Ilands of the Azores almost six moneths, the greatest part of the time we were becalmed: with which all the Sea became so replenished with severall sorts of gellyes, and formes of Serpents, Adders, and Snakes, as seemed wonderfull: some greene, some blacke, some yellow, some white, some of divers colours, and many of them had life, and some there were a yard and halfe, and two yards long; which had I not seene, I could hardly have beleeved. And hereof are witnesses all the Companies of the Shippes which were then present; so that hardly a man could draw a Bucket of water cleere of some corruption. In which Voyage, toward the end thereof many of every Ship (saving of the Nonpereli, which was under my charge, and had onely one man sicke in all the Voyage) fell sicke of this disease, and began to die apace, but that the speedie passage into our Countrie was remedy to the crazed, and a preservative for those that were not touched.

The signes.

Azores.

Strange effect of Calmes.

[IV. vii. 1374.]

The remedies.

The best prevention for this disease (in my judgement) is to keepe cleane the Shippe, to besprinkle her ordinarily with Vinegar, or to burne Tarre, and some sweet savours, to feede upon as few salt Meats in the hot Country as may be, and especially to shun all kindes of salt Fish, and to reserve them for the cold Climates, and not to dresse any meate with salt water, nor to suffer the companie to wash their Shirts nor Cloathes in it, nor to sleepe in their Cloathes when they are wet. For this cause it is necessarily required, that provision be made of apparell for the Company, that they may have wherewith to shift themselves. Being a common calamitie amongst the ordinary sort of Mariners, to spend their thrift on the shore, and to bring to Sea no more Cloathes then they have backes; for the body of man is not refreshed with any thing more, then with shifting cleane Cloathes: a great preservative of health in hot Countries. The second Antidote is, to keepe the company occupied in some bodily exercise of worke, of agilitie, of pastimes, of dancing, of use of Armes; these helpe much to banish this infirmitie. Thirdly, In the morning at discharge of the watch, to give every man a bit of bread, and a draught of drinke, either Beere, or Wine mingled with water (at the least, the one halfe) or a quantitie mingled with Beere, that the poores of the bodie may be full, when the vapours of the Sea ascend up. The morning draught should bee ever of the best, and choisest of that in the ship. Pure wine I hold to be more hurtfull, then the other is profitable. In this, others will be of a contrary opinion, but I thinke partiall. If not, then leave I the remedies thereof to those Phisicions and Surgeons who have experience. And I wish that some learned man would write of it, for it is the plague of the Sea, and the spoyle of Mariners; doubtlesse, it would bee a Worke worthy of a worthy man, and most beneficiall for our Countrie, for in twentie yeeres (since I have used the Sea) I dare take upon me, to give

By Diet.

By shift.

By labour.

By early eating and drinking.

account of ten thousand men consumed with this disease.

Ten thousand English dead of the Scurvie in 20. yeeres.

That which I have seene most fruitfull for this sicknesse, is sowre Oranges and Lemmons, and a water which amongst others (for my particular provision) I carried to the Sea, called Doctor Stevens water, of which, for that his vertue was not then well knowne unto me, I carried but little, and it took end quickly, but gave health to those that used it. The Oyle of Vitry is beneficiall for this disease; taking two drops of it, and mingled in a draught of water, with a little Sugar. It taketh away the thirst, and helpeth to clense and comfort the stomacke: But the principall of all is the Ayre of the Land; for the Sea is naturall for Fishes, and the Land for men. And the oftner a man can have his people to Land, (not hindering his Voyage) the better it is, and the profitablest course that he can take to refresh them.

By sowre Oranges and Lemmons.

By Doctor Stevens water.

By Oyle of Vitry.

By the Aire of the Land.

Having stood to the Westwards some hundred leagues and more, the winde continuing with us contrary, and the sicknesse so fervent, that every day there died more or lesse: my company in generall began to be dismayed, and to desire to returne homewards, which I hindered by good reasons and perswasions: As, that to the West Indies, we had not above eight hundred leagues, to the Ilands of Azores little lesse, and before wee come to the Ilands of Cape de Verde, that wee should meete with the Breze; for every night we might see the reach goe contrary to the winde which we sayled by; verifying the old Proverbe amongst Mariners; That hee hath need of a long Mast, that will sayle by the Reach; and that the neerest Land and speediest refreshing wee could looke for, was the Coast of Brasill, &c.

The company sicke, and dismayed.

Proverbe.

As wee approached neerer and neerer the Coast of Brasill, the winde beganne to vere to the Eastwardes, and about the middle of October, to bee large and good for us; and about the eighteenth of October, wee were thwart of Cape Saint Augustine, which lieth in sixe

Brasill.

Cape Saint Augustine.

degrees to the Southwards of the Line: and the one and twentieth in the height of Farnambuca, but some fourescore leagues from the Coast, the twentie foure, in the height of Bayea de Todos Santos; neere the end of October, betwixt seventeene and eighteene degrees, wee were in sixteene fathomes, sounding of the great Scoles, which lye alongst the Coast, betwixt the Bay of Todos Santos, and the Port of Santos alias nuestra senora de Vitoria; which are very perillous. *Farnambuca.* *Todos Santos.* *De Vitoria.*

But the divine Providence hath ordained great flockes of small Birds (like Snites) to live upon the Rockes, and broken lands of these Sholes, which are met with ordinarily twentie leagues before a man come in danger of them.

It shall not be amisse here to recount the Accidents which befell us during this contrary wind, and the curiosities to be observed in all this time. Day and night we had continually a faire gale of wind, and a smooth Sea, without any alteration; one day the Carpenters having Calked the Decke of our ship, which the Sunne with his extreame heate had opened, craved license to heate a little Pitch in the Cooke roome: which I would not consent unto by any meanes; for that my Cooke roomes were under the Decke, knowing the danger; untill the Master undertooke, that no danger should come thereof, But hee recommended the charge to another, who had a better name, then experience. He suffered the Pitch to rise, and to runne into the fire, which caused so furious a flame as amazed him, and forced all to flee his heate; one of my company, with a double paire of Gloves tooke off the Pitch-pot, but the fire forced him to let slip his hold-fast, before he could set it on the Hearth, and so overturned it, and as the Pitch began to runne, so the fire to enlarge it selfe, that in a moment a great part of the ship was on a light fire. I being in my Cabbin, presently imagined what the matter was, and for all the haste I could make, before I came, the fire was above the Decke: for remedie whereof, I commanded all my *Dangers of fire. By heating of Pitch.*

company to cast their Rugge Gownes into the Sea, with Ropes fastened unto them. These I had provided for my people to watch in, for in many hot Countreyes the nights are fresh and cold; and devided one Gowne to two men, a Starboord and a Larboord man; so that hee which watched had ever the Gowne: for they which watched not, were either in their Cabbins, or under the Decke, and so needed them not. The Gownes being well soaked, every man that could took one, and assaulted the fire; and although some were sindged, others scalded, and many burned, God was pleased that the fire was quenched, which I thought impossible; and doubtlesse, I never saw my selfe in greater perill in all the dayes of my life. Let all men take example by us, not to suffer (in any case) Pitch to be heate in the ship, except it be with a shot heate in the fire, which cannot breed danger: nor to permit fire to be kindled, but upon meere necessitie; for the inconvenience thereof (is for the most part) remedilesse.

Use of rugge Gownes.

Prevention. Divers ships as the Primrose, Jesus of Lubeck, Robuck, Blacke Lion, &c., have beene burned. By hooping & scutling of Caske. Note.

Great care is to be had also in cleaving of Wood, in Hooping or Scutling of Caske, and in any businesse where violence is to be used with Instruments of Iron, Steele, or Stone; and especially in opening of Powder, these are not to be used, but Mallets of Wood, for many mischances happen beyond all expectation. I have beene credibly enformed by divers persons, that comming out of the Indies, with Scutling a But of water, the water hath taken fire, and flamed up, and put all in hazard: And a Servant of mine Thomas Gray told me, that in the ship wherein he came out of the Indies, Anno 1600. there happened the like; and that if with Mantles they had not smoothered the fire, they had beene all burned with a Pipe of Water, which in Scutling tooke fire. Master John Hazlelocke reported, that in the Arsenall of Venice happened the like, he being present. For mine owne part, I am of opinion, that some waters have this propertie, and especially such as have their passage by Mines of Brimstone, or other

By natures of waters.

Minerals, which (as all men know) give extraordinary properties unto the waters which runne by them: Or it may be that the water being in Wine Caske, and kept close, may retaine an extraordinary propertie of the Wine. Yea, I have drunke Fountaine and River waters many times, which have had a savour as that of Brimstone. Three leagues from Bayon in France, I have prooved of a Fountaine that hath this savour, and is medicinable for many Diseases. In the South Sea, in a River some five leagues from Cape Saint Francisco, in one degree and an halfe to the Northwards of the Line, in the Bay of Atacames, is a River of fresh water, which hath the like savour.

By swearing.

We had no small cause to give God thankes, and tooke an occasion hereby, to banish swearing out of our ships, which amongst the common sort of Mariners and Sea-faring men, is too ordinarily abused. So with a generall consent of all our company, it was ordained that in every shippe there should be a Palmer or Ferula, which should be in the keeping of him, who was taken with an Oath, and that hee who had the Palmer should give to every other that hee tooke swearing in the Palme of the hand a Palmada with it, and the Ferula. And whosoever at the time of Evening, or Morning Prayer, was found to have the Palmer, should have three blowes given him by the Captaine, or Master, and that he should be still bound to free himselfe by taking another, or else to runne in danger of continuing the penaltie; which executed, few dayes reformed the Vice; so that in three dayes together, was not one Oath heard to be sworne. This brought both Ferulaes and swearing out of use.

An excellent order for ship-swearing.

Custome feeds vice, which severity starveth.

Pithy discourse of divers fishes and their description.

Ordinarily such ships as Navigate betweene the Tropickes, are accompanied with three sorts of fish. The Dolphin, which the Spaniards call Dozado: the Bonito, or Spanish Makerill: and the Sharke, alias Tiberune. The Dolphin I hold to be one of the swiftest fishes in the Sea: He is like unto a Breame, but that

The Dolphin.

he is longer and thinner, and his scales very small. Hee is of the colour of the Rain-bow, and his head different to other fishes; for, from his mouth halfe a span it goeth straite upright, as the head of a Wherry, or the Cut-water of a ship. He is very good meate if he be in season, but the best part of him, is his head, which is great. They are some bigger, some lesser; the greatest that I have seene, might be some foure foot long. I hold it not without some ground, that the ancient Philosophers write, that they bee enamoured of a man: for in meeting with shipping, they accompany them till they approach to cold Climates; this I have noted divers times. For disembarking out of the West Indies, Anno 1583. within three or foure dayes after, we met a Scole of them, which left us not till wee came to the Ilands of Azores, neere a thousand leagues. At other times I have noted the like. But some may say, that in the Sea are many Scoles of this kind of fish, and how can a man know if they were the same?

Who may be thus satisfied, that every day in the morning, which is the time that they approach neerest the ship, we should see foure, five, and more, which had (as it were) our eare-mark, one hurt upon the backe; another neere the taile; another about the finnes, which is sufficient proof that they were the same. For if those which had received so bad entertainment of us would not forsake us, much lesse those which wee had not hurt; yet that which makes them most in love with ships and men, are the scraps and refreshing they gather from them.

The Bonito. The Bonito, or Spanish Mackerell, is altogether like unto a Mackerell, but that it is somewhat more growne; he is reasonable food, but drier then a Mackerell. Of them there are two sorts; the one is this which I have described; the other so great, as hardly one man can lift him; At such times as we have taken of these, one sufficed for a meale for all my company. These from the finne of the taile forwards have upon the chyne

seven small yellow hillockes, close one to another. The Dolphins and Bonitos are taken with certaine Instruments of Iron, which we call Uysgeis, in forme of an Eele-speare, but that the blades are round, and the points like unto the head of a broad Arrow; these are fastned to long staves of ten or twelve foote long, with Lines tied unto them, and so shot to the fish, from the Beake-head, the Poope, or other parts of the ship, as occasion is ministred. They are also caught with Hookes and Lines, the Hooke beeing bayted with a red Cloth or with a white Cloth, made into the forme of a fish, and sowed upon the Hooke.

The Sharke. The Sharke or Tiberune, is a fish like unto those which wee call Dog-fishes, but that hee is far greater. I have seene of them eight or nine foot long; his head is flat and broad, and his mouth in the middle, underneath, as that of the Scate; and he cannot bite of the baite before him but by making a halfe turne; and then he helpeth himselfe with his taile, which serveth him in stead of a Rudder. His skinne is rough (like to the fish which we call a rough Hound) and Russet, with reddish spots, saving that under the belly hee is all white: hee is much hated of Sea-faring men, who have a certaine foolish Superstition with them, and say that the ship hath seldome good successe, that is much accompanied with them. It is the most ravenous fish knowne in the Sea; for he swalloweth all that hee findeth. In the Puch of them hath beene found Hats, Caps, Shooes, Shirts, legges and armes of men, ends of Ropes, and many other things; whatsoever is hanged by the ships side, he sheereth it, as though it were with a Razor; for he hath three rowes of teeth on either side, as sharpe as nailes; some say, they are good for Pick-tooths. They spawne not, as the greatest part of fishes doe, but Whelpe, as the Dogge or Wolfe; and for many dayes after that she hath whelped every night, and towardes any storme, or any danger which may threaten them hurt, the Damme receiveth her Whelpes

His mouth.

Superstition.

All-devouring.

Three rowes of teeth.

Whelping.

in her mouth, and preserveth them, till they be able to shift for themselves. I have seene them go in and out, being more then a foot and halfe long; and after taking the Dam, we have found her young ones in her belly. My company tooke many. At the taile of one, they tied a great logge of wood, at another, an emptie Batizia well stopped; one they yoked like a Hogge; from another, they plucked out his eyes, and so threw them into the Sea. In catching two together, they bound them taile to taile, and so set them a swimming; another, with his belly slit, and his bowels hanging out which his fellowes would have every one a snatch at; with other infinite Inventions to entertaine the time, and to avenge themselves; for that they deprived them of swimming, and fed on their flesh being dead: they are taken with Harping Irons, and with great hookes made of purpose, with Swyvels and Chaines; for no Line, nor small Rope can hold them, which they share not asunder.

Pilats fishes. There doth accompany this fish, divers little fishes, which are called Pilats fishes, and are ever upon his finnes, his head, or his backe, and feede of the scraps and superfluities of his preyes. They are in forme of a Trowte, and streaked like a Mackerell, but that the streakes are white and blacke, and the blacke greater then the white.

Sea hawking and hunting. The manner of Hunting and Hawking representeth that which we reasonable creatures use, saving onely in the disposing of the game. For by our industry and abilitie the Hound and Hawke is brought to that obedience, that whatsoever they seize, is for their Master; but here it is otherwise. For the game is for him that seizeth it. The Dolphins and Bonitoes are the Hounds, *Flying fishes.* and the Alcatraces the Hawkes, and the flying fishes the game: whose wonderfull making magnifieth the Creator, who for their safetie, and helpe, hath given them extraordinary manner of finnes, which serve instead of wings, like those of the Bat or Rere-mouse; of such a delicate skinne, interlaced with bones so curiously, as may well

cause admiration in the beholders. They are like unto Pilchards in colour, and making; saving that they are somewhat rounder, and (for the most part) bigger. They flee best with a side winde, but longer then their wings bee weate, they cannot sustaine the weight of their bodies; and so the greatest flight that I have seene them make, hath not beene above a quarter of a mile. They commonly goe in Scoles, and serve for food for the greater fishes, or for the Foules. The Dolphins and Bonitoes doe continually hunt after them, and the Alcatraces lie soaring in the Aire, to see when they spring, or take their flight; and ordinarily, hee that escapeth the mouth of the Dolphin, or Bonito, helping himselfe by his wings, falleth prisoner into the hands of the Alcatrace, and helpeth to fill his gorge.

Alcatrace.

The Alcatrace is a Sea-fowle, different to all that I have seene, either on the Land, or in the Sea. His head like unto the head of a Gull, but his bill like unto a Snites bill, somewhat shorter, and in all places alike. He is almost like to a Heronshaw, his legs a good spanne long, his wings very long, and sharpe towards the points, with a long taile like to a Pheasant, but with three or foure feathers onely, and these narrower. He is all blacke, of the colour of a Crow, and of little flesh; for hee is almost all skinne and bones. Hee soareth the highest of any Fowle that I have seene, and I have not heard of any, that have seene them rest in the Sea.

The fight of the Whale with the Sword-fish and Thresher.

Now of the fight betwixt the Whale and his contraries; which are the Sword-fish and the Thresher. The Sword-fish is not great, but strongly made, and in the top of his chine (as a man may say) betwixt the necke and shoulders, he hath a manner of Sword in substance, like unto a bone of foure or five inches broad, and above three foote long, full of prickles of either side, it is but thinne, for the greatest that I have seene, hath not beene above a finger thicke. The Thresher is a greater fish, whose taile is very broad and thicke, and very weighty. They fight in this manner; the Sword-

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fish placeth himselfe under the belly of the Whale, and the Thresher upon the Ryme of the water, and with his tayle thresheth upon the head of the Whale, till he force him to give way, which the Sword-fish perceiving, receiveth him upon his sword, and wounding him in the belly forceth him to mount up againe: (besides that, he cannot abide long under water, but must of force rise up to breath) and when in such manner they torment him, that the fight is sometimes heard above three leagues distance, and I dare affirme, that I have heard the blowes of the Thresher two leagues off, as the report of a peece of Ordnance, the Whales roaring being heard much farther. It also happeneth sundry times, that a great part of the water of the Sea round about them, with the bloud of the Whale changeth his colour. The best remedy the Whale hath in this extremitie to helpe himselfe, is to get him to land, which hee procureth as soone as he discovereth his adversaries, and getting the shore, there can fight but one with him, and for either of them hand to hand he is too good.

The strokes heard two leagues.

Of Whales, see our Greeneland discourses. li. 3. c. 2. & 5.

Amber-greece. Amber-greece is thought by some to breede in the Whales belly by eating of a certaine hearb, but that which carrieth likeliest probabilitie is, that it is a liquor which issueth out of certaine Fountaines, in sundry Seas, and being of a light and thicke substance, participating of the Ayre, suddenly becommeth hard, as the yellow *Amber.* Amber, of which they make Beades, which is also a liquor of a Fountaine in the Germaine Sea: in the bottome it is soft and white, and partaking of the Ayre *Corall.* becommeth hard and stonie: Also the Corrall in the Sea is soft, but commeth into the Ayre, becommeth a stone. Those who are of this former opinion, thinke the reason (why the Amber-greece is sometimes found in the Whale) to be for that hee swalloweth it, as other things, which he findeth swimming upon the water, and not able to digest it, it remaineth with him till his death.

From the Tropicke of Cancer to three or foure degrees of the Equinoctiall, the breze which is the North-east

winde, doth raigne in our Ocean Sea the most part of the yeere, except it be neere the shore, and then the winde is variable. In three or foure degrees of either side the line, the winde hangeth Southerly, in the moneths of July, August, September, and October: all the rest of the yeere from the Cape bona esperança to the Ilands of Azores, the breze raigneth continually; and some yeares in the other moneths also or calmes, but he that purposeth to crosse the line from the Northwards to the Southwards, the best and surest passage is, in the moneths of January, February, and March. In the moneths of September, October and November is also good passage, but not so sure as in the former.

Best times to passe the line fro the Northwards to the Southward.

Betwixt nineteene and twenty degrees to the Southwards of the line, the winde tooke us contrary, which together with the sicknesse of my people made me to seeke the shore, and about the end of October, we had sight of the land, which presently by our height and the making of it, discovered it selfe to be the Port of Santos, alias nostra Senora de Victoria, and is easie to be knowne, for it hath a great high hill over the Port, which (howsoever a man commeth with the land) riseth like a bell, and comming neere the shore presently is discovered a white Tower or Fort, which standeth upon the top of a hill over the Harbour, and upon the Sea-most-land: It is the first land a man must compasse before he enter into the Port: comming within two leagues of the shore we anchored, and the Captaines and Masters of my other Ships, being come aboord, it was thought convenient (the weakenesse of our men considered, for wee had not in our three Ships twenty foure men sound) and the winde uncertaine when it might change, wee thought with policie to procure that which we could not by force, and so to offer traffique to the people of the shore.

Port of Santos.

Entring the Port, within a quarter of a mile is a small Village, and three leagues higher up, is the chiefe towne: where they have two Forts, one on either side of the

Harbour, and within them ride the Ships which come thither to discharge or loade. In the small Village is ever a Garrison of a hundreth Souldiers, whereof part assist there continually, and in the white Tower upon the top of the hill, which commandeth it.

Here my Captaine, whom I sent with a Letter, had good entertainment, and those of the shore received his message and Letter, dispatching it presently to the Governor, who was some three leagues off in another place ; at least, they beare us so in hand. In the time that they expected the Post, my Captaine with one other entertained himselfe with the Souldiers ashore, who after the common custome of their profession (except when they be besonios) sought to please him, and finding that he craved but Oranges, Lemmons, and matters of small moment for refreshing for his Generall, they suffered the women and children to bring him what he would, which he gratified with double Pistolets, that I had given him for that purpose. So got he us two or three hundreth Oranges and Lemmons, and some few Hens.

The answere of the Governor was, that he was sorry that he could not accomplish our desire, being so reasonable & good : for that in consideration of the war betweene Spaine and England, he had expresse order from his King, not to suffer any English to trade within his jurisdiction, no nor to land, or to take any refreshing upon the shore. And therefore craved pardon, and that we should take this for a resolute answere : And further, required us to depart the Port within three daies, which he said he gave us, for our courteous manner of proceeding : If any of my people from that time forwards, should approach to the shore, that hee would doe his best to hinder and annoy them. With this answere we resolved to depart ; and before it came, with the first faire winde, we determined to be packing: but the winde suffered us not all that night, nor the next day. In which time I lived in a great perplexitie, for that I knew our owne weakenesse, and what they might doe unto

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us, if that they had knowne so much. For any man that putteth himselfe into the enemies Port, had neede of Argus eyes, and the winde in a bagge, especially, where the enemy is strong, and the tydes of any force. For, with either ebbe or flood, those who are on the shore, may thrust upon him inventions of fire, and with swimming or other devises may cut his cables. A common practise in all hot Countries. The like may be effected with Raffes, Canoas, Boates or Pinnaces, to annoy and assault him; and if this had beene practised against us, or taken effect, our Ships must of force have yeelded themselves; for they had no other people in them but sick men; many times opinion & feare preserveth the Ships, and not the people in them. Wherefore it is the part of a provident Governor, to consider well the dangers that may befall him, before he put himself into such places: so shall he ever be provided for prevention. In Saint John de Ulua, in the New-Spain, when the Spaniards dishonoured their Nation with that foule act of perjury, and breach of faith, given to my Father, Sir John Hawkins (notorious to the whole world) the Spaniards fired two great Ships, with intention to burne my Fathers Admirall, which he prevented by towing them with his Boates another way. The great Armado of Spaine, sent to conquer England, Anno 1588. was with that selfesame industry overthrowne: for the setting on fire six or seven Ships (whereof two were mine) and letting them drive with the floud, forced them to cut their Cables, and to put to Sea, to seeke a new way to Spain. In which the greatest part of their best Ships and men were lost and perished.

For prevention of annoyances, &c. in Harbours.

Spaniards perjury.

Their punishment.

The next night, the winde comming off the shore, we set saile, and with our Boates and Barkes sounded as we went. It flowed upon the Barre not above foure foote water, and once in foure and twenty houres (as in some parts of the West Indies) at full Sea there is not upon the barre above seventeene or eighteene foote water. The harbour runneth to the South-westwards, he that

Note for that harbour.

will come into it, is to open the harbours mouth a good quarter of a league before he beare with it, and be bolder of the Wester-side, for of the Easterland lyeth a great ledge of Rockes, for the most part under water, which sometimes breake not, but with small shipping, a man may goe betwixt them and the point.

The vertue of Oranges.

Comming aboord of our Ships, there was great joy amongst my company, and many with the sight of the Oranges and Lemmons, seemed to recover heart: This is a wonderfull secret of the power and wisedome of God, that hath hidden so great and unknowne vertue in this fruit, to be a certaine remedy for this infirmity; I presently caused them all to be reparted amongst our sicke men, which were so many, that there came not above three or foure to a share: but God was pleased to send us a prosperous winde the next day, so much to our comfort, that not any one died before we came to the Ilands, where we pretended to refresh our selves: And although our fresh water had failed us many dayes (before we saw the shore) by reason of our long Navigation, without touching any land, and the excessive drinking of the sicke and diseased (which could not be excused) yet with an invention I had in my Ship, I easily drew out of the water of the Sea sufficient quantitie of fresh water to sustaine my people, with little expence of fewell, for with foure billets I stilled a hogshead of water, and therewith dressed the meate for the sicke and whole. The water so distilled, we found to be wholesome and nourishing.

Distilling of Salt water.

The coast from Santos to Cape Frio lyeth West and by South Southerly. So wee directed our course West South-west. The night comming on, and directions given to our other Ships, wee set the watch, having a faire fresh gale of winde and large. My selfe, with the Master of our Ship, having watched the night past, thought now to give nature that which she had beene deprived of, and so commended the care of Steeridge to one of his Mates; who with the like travell past

being drowsie, or with the confidence which he had of him at the Helme, had not that watchfull care which was required; he at the Helme steered West and West by South, & brought us in a little time close upon the shore: doubtlesse he had cast us all away, had not God extraordinarily delivered us: for the Master being in his dead sleepe, was suddenly awaked, and with such a fright, that he could not be in quiet: whereupon, waking his youth, which ordinarily slept in his Cabin by him, asked him how the watch went on; who answered, that it could not be an houre since he laid himselfe to rest. He replyed, that his heart was so unquiet, that he could not by any meanes sleepe, and so taking his Gowne, came forth upon the Decke, and presently discovered the land hard by us. And for that it was sandie and low, those who had their eyes continually fixed on it, were dazeled with the reflection of the Starres, being a faire night, and so was hindered from the true discovery thereof. But he comming out of the darke, had his sight more forcible, to discerne the difference of the Sea, and the shoare. So that forthwith hee commanded him at the Helme, to put it close a starbourd, and taking our Ship, we edged off; and sounding, found scant three fathome water, whereby we saw evidently, the miraculous mercy of God, that if hee watched over us, as he doth continually over his, doubtless wee had perished without remedie: to whom be all glory and praise everlasting world without end.

Unskilfulnesse of the Masters Mate.

Providence of God, and the care of the Master.

In this point of Steeridge, the Spaniards & Portugals doe exceede all that I have seene, I meane for their care, which is chiefest in Navigation. And I wish in this, and in all their workes of Discipline and reformation, we should follow their examples, as also those of any other Nation. In every Shippe of moment, upon the halfe decke, or quarter decke, they have a chaire or seate; out of which whilst they Navigate, the Pilot, or his Adjutants (which are the same officers which in our Ships wee terme, the Master and his Mates) never

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Care of Steeridge.

Exquisit in the Spaniards and Portugals.

depart day nor night, from the sight of the Compasse, and have another before them, whereby they see what they doe, and are ever witnesses of the good or bad Steeridge of all men that take the Helme.

Cape Blanco. The next day about ten of the clocke, we were thwart of Cape Blanco, which is low sandie land and perilous, for foure leagues into the Sea (thwart it) lye bankes of sand, which have little water on them; on a sudden we found our selves amongst them, in lesse then three fathome water, but with our Boate and Shallop we went sounding, and so got cleare of them. The next day following, we discovered the Ilands, where we purposed to refresh our selves: they are two, and

Saint James Ilands, alias Saint Annes. some call them Saint James his Ilands, and others, Saint Annes. They lye in two and twentie degrees and a halfe to the Southwards of the line; and towards the evening (being the fift of November) we anchored betwixt them and the maine, in six fathome water, where we found our other Ships.

All which being well Moored, we presently began to set up Tents & Booths for our sick men, to carry them ashore, and to use our best diligence to cure them. For which intent our three Surgeans, with their servants, and adherents, had two Boates to waite continually upon them, to fetch whatsoever was needefull from the Ships, to procure refreshing, and to Fish either with Nets or Hooks, and Lines. Of these implements we had in abundance, and it yeelded us some refreshing. For the first daies the most of those which had health, occupied themselves in romeging our Ship, in bringing ashore of emptie Caske, in filling of them, and in felling and cutting of wood: which being many workes, and few hands, went slowly forwards.

Neere these Ilands are two great Rocks or small Ilands adjoyning. In them wee found great store of

Gannets. yong Gannets in their nests, which we reserved for the sick, and being boyled with pickled Porke well watered, and mingled with Oatmeale, made reasonable Pottage,

& was good refreshing and sustenance for them. This provision failed us not, till our departure from them. Upon one of these Rocks also, we found great store of the hearbe Purslane, which boyled and made into Sallets, with oyle and vineger, refreshed the sicke stomackes, and gave appetite. *Purslane.*

With the ayre of the shore, and good cherishing, many recovered speedily: some died away quickly, and others continued at a stand. We found here some store of Fruits; a kinde of Cherry, that groweth upon a tree like a Plum-tree, red of colour, with a stone in it, but different in making to ours, for it is not altogether round, and dented about: they have a pleasing taste. *Cherries.* In one of the Ilands we found Palmito trees, great and high, and in the top a certaine fruite like Cocos, but no bigger then a Wal-nut. We found also a fruit growing upon trees in cods, like Beanes, both in the cod and the fruite. Some of my Company proved of them, and they caused vomits and purging. *Palmitos.* One other fruit we found, very pleasant in taste, in fashion of an Artechoque, but lesse; on the outside of colour red; within white, and compassed about with prickles: our people called them Prick-peares: no Conserve is better. They grow upon the leaves of a certaine roote, that is like unto that which we call semper viva; and many are wont to hang them up in their houses: but their leaves are longer and narrower, and full of prickes on either side. The Fruite groweth upon the side of the leafe, and is one of the best fruites that I have eaten in the Indies. In ripening, presently the Birds or Vermine are feeding on them; a generall rule to know what fruite is wholesome and good in the Indies, and other parts. Finding them to be eaten of the Beasts or Fowles, a man may boldly eate of them. *Purgatives.* *Artechoques, or Prick-pears.* *A good note to take or refuse unknown fruits.*

The water of these Ilands is not good; the one for being a standing water, and full of venemous wormes and Serpents, which is neere a Butt-shot from the Sea-shore, where wee found a great Tree fallen, and in

the roote of it the names of sundry Portugals, Frenchmen, and others, and amongst them Abraham Cockes, with the time of their being in this Island. The other, though a running water, yet passing by the rootes of certaine trees, which have a smell as that of Garlique, taketh a certaine contagious sent of them. Here two of our men died with swelling of their bellies: the accident we could not attribute to any other cause, then to this suspicious water. It is little, and falleth into the sand, and soketh through it into the Sea; and therefore we made a well of a Pipe, and placed it under the rocke from which it falleth, and out of it filled our Caske: but we could not fill above two tuns in a night and a day.

Contagious water.

After our people began to gather their strength, we manned our Boates, and went over to the Maine, where presently we found a great River of fresh and sweete water, and a mightie Marish Country, which in the winter seemeth to be continually over-flowne with this River, and others, which fall from the mountainous Country adjacent. We rowed some leagues up the River, and found that the further up we went, the deeper was the River, but no fruit, more then the sweate of our bodies for the labour of our hands. At our returne we loaded our Boate with water, and afterwards from hence we made our Store.

[IV. vii. 1380.] The sicknesse having wasted more then the one halfe of my people, we determined to take out the victuals of the Hawke, and to burne her; which we put in execution. And being occupied in this worke, we saw a Ship turning to windwards, to succour her selfe of the Ilands; but having descried us, put off to Seawards. Two daies after, the winde changing, we saw her againe running alongst the coast, and the Daintie not being in case to goe after her, for many reasons, wee manned the Fancie, and sent her after her; who about setting of the Sunne fetched her up, and spake with her; when finding her to be a great Fly-boate, of

Waste & losse of men.
Hawke burnt.

(at least) three or foure hundreth tuns, with eighteene Peeces of Artillery, would have returned, but the winde freshing in, put her to Leewards; and standing in to succour her selfe of the land, had sight of another small Bark, which after a short chase she tooke, but had nothing of moment in her, for that she had bin upon the great Sholes of Abreoios in 18. degrees, and there throwne all they had by the boord, to save their lives. This and the other chase were the cause that the Fancie could not beate it up in many dayes: but before wee had put all in a readinesse, the winde changing, shee came unto us, and made Relation of that which had past; and how they had given the small Barke to the Portugals, and brought with them onely her Pilot, and a Merchant called Pedro de escalante of Potosi.

Sholes of Abreoios.

In this Coast the Portugals, by industry of the Indians, have wrought many feates. At Cape Frio they tooke a great French Shippe in the night, the most of her company being on the shore with Canoas, which they have in this Coast so great, that they carrie seventie and eightie men, in one of them. And in Isla Grand, I saw one that was above threescore foote long, of one tree as are all I have seene in Brasil, with provisions in them for twenty or thirty daies. At the Iland of San-sebastian, neere Saint Vincent, the Indians killed about eightie of Master Candish his men, and tooke his Boate, which was the overthrow of his Voyage.

Industry of the Indians.

They surprise the French.

Great Canoa.

San-sebastian.

There commeth not any Ship upon this Coast, whereof these Canoas give not notice presently to every place. And we were certified in Isla Grand, that they had sent an Indian from the River of Jenero, through all the Mountaines & Marishes, to take a view of us, and accordingly made a Relation of our Ships, Boates, and the number of men, which wee might have. But to prevent the like danger that might come upon us being carelesse and negligent, I determined one night, in the darkest and quietest of it, to see what watch

Wise stratagem.

our Company kept on the shore; manned our Light-horsman, and Boat, armed them with Bowes and Targets, and got ashore some good distance from the places where were our Boothes, and sought to come upon them undiscovered: we used all our best endevours to take them at unawares, yet comming within fortie paces we were discovered; the whole and the sicke came forth to oppose themselves against us. Which we seeing, gave them the Hubbub, after the manner of the Indians, and assaulted them, and they us; but being a close darke night, they could not discerne us presently upon the Hubbub. From our Ship the Gunner shot a peece of Ordnance over our heads, according to the order given him, and thereof we tooke occasion to retire unto our Boates, and within a little space came to the Boothes and landing places, as though we came from our Ships to aide them. They began to recount unto us, how that at the Wester point of the Iland, out of certaine Canoas, had landed a multitude of Indians, which with a great out-cry came upon them, & assaulted them fiercely, but finding better resistance then they looked for, and seeing themselves discovered by the Ships, tooke themselves to their heeles, and returned to their Canoas, in which they imbarked themselves, and departed. One affirmed, he saw the Canoas; another, their long haire; a third, their Bowes; a fourth, that it could not be, but that some of them had their paiments. And it was worth the sight, to behold those which had not moved out of their beds in many moneths (unlesse by the helpe of others) had gotten, some a bow-shot off into the woods, others into the tops of trees, and those which had any strength, joyned together to fight for their lives. In fine, the Booths and Tents were left desolate.

The merry events of a carefull watch.

To colour our businesse the better, after we had spent some houre in seeking out, and joyning the Company together, in comforting, and commending them; I left them an extraordinary Guard for that night, and

so departed to our Shippes, with such an opinion of the assault, given by the Indians, that many so possessed (through all the Voyage) would not be perswaded to the contrary. Which impression wrought such effect in most of my Company, that in all places where the Indians might annoy us, they were after most carefull and vigilant, as was convenient.

Tides in the Ilands.

In these Ilands it heigheth and falleth some five or sixe foote water, and but once in two and twentie houres; as in all this Coast, and in many parts of the West Indies; as also in the coast of Peru and Chely (saving where are great Bayes or indraughts) and there the tydes keep their ordinary course of twice in foure and twenty houres. In the lesser of these Ilands, is a Cove for a small Ship to ride in, Land-lockt, and she may moore her selfe to the trees of either side: this we called Palmito Iland, for the abundance it hath of the greater sort of Palmito trees, the other hath none at all. A man may goe betwixt the Ilands with his Ship, but the better course is out at one end. In these Ilands are many Scorpions, Snakes, and Adders, with other venemous Vermine. They have Parots, and a certaine kinde of fowle like unto Phesants, somewhat bigger, and seeme to be of their nature. Here we spent above a moneth in curing of our sicke men, supplying our wants of wood and water, and in other necessary workes. And the tenth of December (all things put in order) we set saile for Cape Frio, having onely sixe men sicke, with purpose there to set ashore our two Prisoners before named: and anchoring under the Cape, we set our Boate ashoare, but they could not finde any convenient place to land them in, and so returned: the winde being Southerly, and not good to goe on our voyage, we succoured our selves within Isla Grand, which lyeth some dozen or foureteene leagues from the Cape, betwixt the West, and by South and West Southwest: the rather to set our Prisoners on shore.

Palmito Iland.

The creatures.

[IV. vii. 1381.]

Cape Frio.

In the mid way betwixt the Cape and this Iland,

Jenero. lyeth the River Jenero, a very good Harbour, fortified with a Garrison, and a place well peopled. The Isla Grand is some eight or tenne leagues long, and causeth a goodly harbour for shipping: it is full of great sandie Bayes, and in the most of them is store of good water: *Little Iland.* within this Iland are many other smaller Ilands, which cause divers sounds and creekes; and amongst these little Ilands, one, for the pleasant scituation and fertilitie thereof, called Placentia. This is peopled, all the rest desert: on this Iland our Prisoners desired to be put ashore, and promised to send us some refreshing. Whereto wee condescended, and sent them ashore with two Boates well manned and armed, who found few Inhabitants in the Iland; for our people saw not above foure or five houses, notwithstanding our Boates returned loaden with Plantines, Pinias, Potatoes, Sugar-canes, and some Hens. Amongst which they brought a kinde of little Plantine, greene, and round, which were the best of any that I have seene. With our people came a Portugall, who said, that the Iland was his; hee seemed to be a Mistecho (who are those that are of a Spanish and an Indian brood) poorely apparelled and miserable; we feasted him, and gave him some trifles, and hee according to his abilitie answered our courtesie with such as he had.

The winde continuing contrary, we emptied all the water we could come by, which we had filled in Saint James his Iland, and filled our Caske with the water of this *Isla Grand.* Isla Grand. It is a wildernesse covered with Trees and Shrubs so thicke, as it hath no passage through, except a man make it by force. And it was strange to heare the howling and cries of wilde Beasts in these Woods day and night, which we could not come at to see by any meanes; some like Lyons, others like Beares, others like Hogs, and of such and so many diversities, as was admirable. Here our Nets profited us much, for in the sandy Bayes they tooke us store of fish. Upon the shore at full Sea-marke, we found in many places certain

shels, like those of mother of Pearles, which are brought out of the East Indies, to make standing cups, called Caracoles; of so great curiositie as might move all the beholders to magnifie the maker of them: and were it not for the brittlenesse of them, by reason of their exceeding thinnesse, doubtlesse they were to be esteemed farre above the others, for more excellent workmanship I have not seene in shels. *Shels of mother of Pearle.*

The eighteenth of December we set saile, the winde at North-east, and directed our course for the Straits of Magalianes. The twenty two of this moneth, at the going too of the Sun, we descried a Portugall ship, and gave her chase, and comming within hailing of her, she rendred her selfe without any resistance, she was of an hundred tuns bound for Angola to load Negroes, to be carried and sold in the River of Plate: It is a trade of great profit, and much used, for that the Negroes are carried from the head of the River of Plate, to Potosi, to labour in the Mines. It is a bad Negro, who is not worth there five or six hundreth peeces, every peece of ten Ryals, which they receive in Ryals of Plate, for there is no other Merchandize in those parts. The loading of this Ship was meale of Cassavi, which the Portugals call Farina de Paw, made of a certaine roote which the Indians call Yuca, much like unto Potatoes. Of it are two kindes, the one sweete and good to be eaten (either rosted or sodden) as Potatoes; and the other of which they make their bread, called Cassavi, deadly poison, if the liquor or juyce be not throughly pressed out. This Farina, in making Pancakes, and frying them with butter or oyle, and sometimes with Manteca de Puerco; when strewing a little Sugar upon them, it was meate that our company desired above any that was in the Ship. *Price of Negroes.* *Casiavi meale.*

The Indians also accustome to make their drinke of this meale, and in three severall manners. First, is chewing it in their mouthes, and after mingling it with water, after a loathsome manner, yet the commonnest *And for Beverage.*

drinke that they have; and that held best which is chewed by an old woman. The second manner of their drinke, is baking it till it be halfe burned, then they beate it into Powder; and when they will drinke, they mingle a small quantity of it with water, which giveth a reasonable good taste. The third, and best, is baking it (as aforesaid) and when it is beaten into Powder, to seeth it in water; after that it is well boyled, they let it stand some three or foure daies, and then drinke it. So it is much like the Ale which is used in England, and of that colour and taste.

The manner of planting Iuca.

The Indians are very curious in planting and manuring of this Yuca: It is a little shrub, & carrieth branches like hazell wands; being grown as big as a mans finger, they breake them off in the middest, and so pricke them into the ground; it needeth no other art or husbandry, for out of each branch grow two, three or foure roots, some bigger, some lesser: but first they burne and manure the ground, the which labour, and whatsoever else is requisite, the men doe not so much as helpe with a finger, but all lyeth upon their poore women, who are worse then slaves: for they labour the ground, they plant, they digge and delve, they bake, they brew, and dresse their meate, fetch their water, and doe all drudgerie whatsoever; yea, though they nurse a childe, they are not exempted from any labour: their childe they carrie in a Wallet about their necke, ordinarily under one arme, because it may sucke when it will.

[IV. vii. 1382.] *With the labour of the women.*

The men have care for nothing but for their Canoas, to passe from place to place, and of their Bowes and Arrowes to hunt, and their Armes for the warre, which is a sword of heavie blacke wood, some foure fingers broad, an inch thicke, and an Elle long, somewhat broader towards the top then at the handle. They call it Macana, and it is carved and wrought with inlaid works very curiously, but his edges are blunt. If any kill any game in hunting, he bringeth it not with him, but from the next tree to the game, hee bringeth a

bough (for the trees in the Indies have leaves for the most part all the yeare) and all the way as he goeth streweth little peeces of it, here and there, and comming home giveth a peece to his woman, and so sends her for it. If they goe to the Warre, or in any journey, where it is necessary to carry provision or Merchandize, the women serve too carrie all, and the men never succour nor ease them, wherein they shew greater Barbarisme then in any thing (in my opinion) that I have noted amongst them, except in eating one another.

We tooke out of this Prize, for our provision, some good quantitie of this meale, and the Sugar she had, being not above three or foure Chests: after three dayes we gave the Ship to the Portugals, and to them libertie. In her was a Portugall Knight, which went for Governour of Angola, of the habit of Christ, with fiftie Souldiers, and Armes for a hundreth and fiftie, with his wife and daughter. He was old, and complained, that after many yeeres service for his King, with sundry mishaps, he was brought to that poore estate, as for the reliefe of his wife, his daughter and himselfe, he had no other substance, but that he had in his Ship. It moved compassion, so as nothing of his was diminished, which though to us was of no great moment, in Angola it was worth good Crownes. Onely we disarmed them all, and let them depart, saying, that they would returne to Saint Vincents. We continued our course for the Straits, my people much animated with this unlookt for refreshing, and praised God for his bountie, providence, and grace extended towards us. Here it will not be out of the way to speake a word of the particularities of the Countrie.

The description of Brasil.

Brasil is accounted to be that part of America, which lyeth towards our North Sea, betwixt the River of the Amazons, neere the line to the Northwards, untill a man come to the River of Plate in 36. degrees to the Southwards of the line. This coast generally lyeth next of any thing South and by West. It is a temperate Countrie,

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though in some parts it exceedeth in heate; it is full of good succours for shipping, and plentifull for Rivers and fresh waters. The principall habitations, are Fernambuca, the Bay De todos los Santos, Nostra Senora de victoria, alias Santos, the River Jenero, Saint Vincents, and Placentia: every of them provided of a good Port. The windes are variable, but for the most part trade alongst the Coast.

Its Havens.

Strange worme.

A worme there is in this Countrie, which killed many of the first Inhabitants, before God was pleased to discover a remedie for it, unto a religious person. It is like a Magot, but more slender and longer, and of a greene colour, with a red head. This worme creepeth in at the hinder parts, where is the evacuation of our superfluities, and there (as it were) gleweth himselfe to the gut, there feedeth of the bloud and humors, and becommeth so great, that stopping the naturall passage, he forceth the principall wheele of the clocke of our body to stand still, and with it the accompt of the houre of life to take end, with most cruell torment and paine, which is such, that he who hath beene throughly punished with the Collique can quickly decipher or demonstrate. The Antidote for this pernicious worme is Garlique: and this was discovered by a Phisitian to a Religious person.

§. III.

Tharltons treacherie: Discoverie of Land unknowne: Entrance of the Straits, accidents therein, and description thereof: divers occasionall discourses for the furtherance of Marine and Naturall knowledge.

Variation of the Compasse.

IN our Navigation towards the Straits, by our observation we found, that our Compasse varied a point and better to the Eastwards.

In the height of the River of Plate, we being some fiftie leagues off the coast, a storme tooke us Southerly,

which endured fortie eight houres: In the first day about the going downe of the Sunne, Robert Tharlton, Master of the Fancie, bare up before the winde, without giving us any token or signe, that she was in distresse. We seeing her to continue her course, bare up after her, and the night comming on, we carried our light, but she never answered us, for they kept their course directly for England, which was the overthrow of the Voyage, as well for that we had no Pinnace to goe before us, to discover any danger, to seeke out roades and anchoring, to helpe our watering and refreshing; as also for the victuals, necessaries, and men which they carried away with them: which though they were not many, yet with their helpe in our fight, we had taken the Vice-admirall, the first time shee bourded with us, as shall be hereafter manifested. For once we cleered her Decke, and had wee beene able to have spared but a dozen men, doubtlesse, we had done with her what we would, for she had no close fights. Moreover, if she had beene with me, I had not beene discovered upon the coast of Perew. But I was worthy to be deceived, that trusted my Ship in the hands of an hypocrite, and a man which had left his Generall before in the like occasion, and in the selfe same place: for being with Master Thomas Candish, Master of a small Shippe in the Voyage wherein hee died, this Captaine being aboord the Admirall, in the night time forsooke his Fleete, his Generall and Captaine, and returned home. Pitie it is that such perfidious persons are not more severely punished.

[IV. vii. 1383.]

The overthrow of the Voyage by a perfidious man.

These absentings and escapes are made most times onely to pilfer and steale, as well by taking of some prize when they are alone, and without command, to hinder or order their bad proceedings, as to appropriate that which is in their intrusted shippe; casting the fault, if they bee called to account, upon some poore and unknowne Mariners, whom they suffer with a little pillage, to absent themselves,

The cunning of Runnawayes.

the cunninglier to colour their greatest disorders, and Robberies.

The storme ceasing, and being out of all hope, wee set saile and went on our course. During this storme certaine great Fowles as bigge as Swannes, soared about us, and the winde calming, setled themselves in the Sea, and fed upon the sweepings of our ship; which I perceiving, and desirous to see of them, because they seemed farre greater then in truth they were, I caused a Hook and Line to be brought me; and with a piece of a Pilchard I baited the Hooke, and a foot from it, tied a piece of Corke, that it might not sinke deepe, and threw it into the Sea, which, our ship driving with the Sea, in a little time was a good space from us, and one of the Fowles beeing hungry, presently seized upon it, and the Hooke in his upper beake. It is like to a Faulcons bill, but that the point is moore crooked, in that manner, as by no meanes hee could cleere himselfe, except that the Line brake, or the Hooke righted: Plucking him towards the ship, with the waving of his wings he eased the weight of his body; and being brought to the sterne of our ship, two of our company went downe by the ladder of the Poope, and seized on his neck and wings; but such were the blowes he gave them with his Pinnions, as both left their hand-fast, beeing beaten blacke and blue; we cast a snare about his necke, and so triced him into the ship. By the same manner of fishing, we caught so many of them, as refreshed and recreated all my people for that day. Their bodies were great, but of little flesh and tender, in taste answerable to the food whereon they feed. They were of two colours, some white, some grey; they had three joynts in each wing; and from the point of one wing to the point of the other, both stretched out, was above two fathomes.

Birds like Swans. Such the Hollanders found in the Straits which they called Mayres.

Caught with Line & Hooke.

Prove good refreshment.

The wind continued good with us, till we came to 49. degrees and 30. minutes where it took us Westerly, being (as we made our account) some fifty leagues from

the shoare. Betwixt 49. and 48. degrees is Port Saint Julian, a good Harbour, and in which a man may grave his shippe, though she draw fifteene or sixteene foot water: But care is to bee had of the people called Patagones. They are treacherous, and of great stature, most give them the name of Giants.

Care of the Patagones.

The second of February, about nine of the clocke in the morning, wee descried land, which bare South-west of us, which we looked not for so timely; and comming neerer and neerer unto it, by the lying, wee could not conjecture what Land it should be, for wee were next of any thing in 48. degrees, and no Plat, nor Sea-card which we had, made mention of any Land, which lay in that manner, neere about that height; In fine, wee brought our Lar-boord tacke aboord, and stood to the North-east-wards all that day and night, and the winde continuing Westerly and a faire gale, we continued our course alongst the Coast the day and night following. In which time we made account we discovered well neere threescore leagues off the Coast. It is bold, and made small shew of dangers. The land is a goodly Champion Countrey, and peopled; wee saw many fires, but could not come to speake with the people; for the time of the yeere was farre spent to shoote the Straits, and the want of our Pinnasse disabled us for finding a Port or Road; not being discretion with a ship of charge, and in an unknowne Coast, to come neere the shoare before it was sounded; which were causes, together with the change of the winde (good for us to passe the Strait) that hindered the further Discovery of this Land, with its secrets: This I have sorrowed for many times since for that it had likelihood to bee an excellent Countrey. It hath great Rivers of fresh waters; for the out-shoot of them colours the Sea in many places, as we ranne alongst it. It is not Mountaynous, but much of the disposition of England, and as temperate. The things we noted principally on the Coast, are these following; the Westermost point

Land unknowne.

A description of the same.

A caveat for comming suddenly to neere an unknowne Land.

of the Land, with which wee first fell, is the end of the Land to the Westwards, as wee found afterwards. If a man bring this point South-west, it riseth in three Mounts or round Hillockes: bringing it more Westerly, they shoot themselves all into one; and bringing it Easterly, it riseth in two Hillockes. This we called Point Tremountaine. Some twelve or fourteene leagues from this point to the Eastwards, faire by the shoare, lyeth a low flat Iland of some two leagues long; we named it Faire Iland; for it was all over as greene and smooth, as any Meddow in the Spring of the yeare.

[IV. vii. 1384.]

Point Tremountaine.

Faire Iland.

Some three or foure leagues Easterly from this Iland, is a goodly opening, as of a great River, or an arme of the Sea, with a goodly low Countrey adjacent. And eight or tenne leagues from this opening, some three leagues from the shoare, lyeth a bigge Rocke, which at the first we had thought to be a ship under all her sayles; but after, as we came neere, it discovered it selfe to bee a Rocke, which we called Conduit-head; for that howsoever a man commeth with it, it is like to the Conduit-heads about the Citie of London. All this Coast so farre as we discovered, lyeth next of any thing East and by North, and West and by South. The Land, for that it was discovered in the Reigne of Queene Elizabeth, my Sovereigne Lady and Mistris, and a Mayden Queene, and at my cost and adventure, in a perpetuall memory of her chastitie, and remembrance of my endevours, I gave it the name of Hawkins Maiden land. Before a man fall with this Land, some twenty or thirty leagues, he shall meet with beds of Oreweed, driving to and fro in that Sea, with white flowres growing upon them, and sometimes farther off; which is a good shew and signe the Land is neere, whereof the Westermost part lyeth some threescore leagues from the neerest Land of America.

Conduit-head.

Hawkins Maidenland.

Beds of Ore-weed, with white flowres.

With our faire and large wind, wee shaped our course for the Straits, and the tenth of February wee had sight

Our comming to the Straits.

of Land, and it was the head-land of the Straits to the Northwards, which agreed with our height, wherein wee found our selves to bee, which was in 52. degrees and 40. minutes. Within a few houres, we had the mouth of the Straits open, which lieth in 52. degrees and 50. minutes. It riseth like the North foreland in Kent, and is much like the Land of Margates. It is not good to borrow neere the shoare, but to give it a faire birth; within a few houres we entred the mouth of the Straits, which is some sixe leagues broad, and lieth in 52. degrees, and 50. minutes; doubling the Point on the starboord, which is also flat of a good birth, we opened a faire Bay, in which we might descry the Hull of a ship, beaten upon the Beach. It was of the Spanish Fleet, that went to inhabit there, in Anno 1582. under the charge of Pedro Sarmiento, who at his returne was taken Prisoner, and brought into England. In this Bay the Spaniards made their principall habitation, and called it the Citie of Saint Philip, and left it peopled; But the cold barrennesse of the Countrey, and the malice of the Indians, with whom they badly agreed, made speedy end of them, as also of those, whom they left in the middle of the Straits, three leagues from Cape Froward to the Eastwards, in another habitation.

Description thereof.

Pedro Sarmiento buildeth San Philip.

We continued our course alongst this Reach (for all the Straits is as a River altering his course, sometimes upon one point, sometimes upon another) which is some eight leagues long, and lieth West North-West. From this we entred into a goodly Bay, which runneth up into the Land Northerly many leagues; and at first entrance, a man may see no other thing, but as it were, a maine Sea. From the end of this first Reach, you must direct your course West South-west, and some fourteene or fifteene leagues lyeth one of the narrowest places of all the Straits; This leadeth unto another Reach, that lyeth West and by North some six leagues. Here in the middle of the Reach, the wind tooke us

by the North-west, and so we were forced to anchor some two or three dayes. In which time we went ashoare with our Boats, and found neere the middle of this Reach, on the starboord side, a reasonable good place to ground and trimme a small ship; where it higheth some nine or ten foot water. Here we saw certaine *Hogs.* Hogs, but they were so farre from us, that we could not discerne whether they were of those of the Countrey, or brought by the Spaniards; these were all the beasts which we saw in all the time we were in the straits.

In two tides we turned through this reach, and so *Ilands of Pengwins.* recovered the Ilands of Pengwins; they lye from this reach foure leagues South-west and by West. *Note.* Till you come to this place, care is to be taken of not comming too neere to any point of the land; for being (for the most part) sandy, they have sholding off them, and are somewhat dangerous. These Ilands have beene set forth by some to be three, we could discover but two; And they are no more except that part of the Mayne, which lyeth over against them, be an Iland; which carrieth little likelihood, and I cannot determine it. A man may saile betwixt the two Ilands, or betwixt them and the Land on the Larboord side; from which Land to the bigger Iland is as it were a bridge or ledge, on which is foure or five fathom water; and to him that commeth neere it, not knowing thereof, may justly cause feare: for it sheweth to be shold water with his ripling, like unto a Race. Betwixt the former Reach, and these Ilands, runneth up a goodly Bay into the Countrey to the Northwards. It causeth a great Indraught, and above these Ilands runneth a great tide from the mouth of the Straits to these Ilands, the Land on the Larboord-side is low Land and sandy (for the most part, and without doubt, Ilands) for it hath many openings into the Sea, and forcible Indraughts by them, and that on the Starboord side, is all high Mountaynous Land, from end to end; but no wood on either side. Before we passed these Ilands, under the Lee of the bigger Iland we anchored,

Since it hath bin plainly found that all the South part are Ilands.

the winde beeing at North-east, with intent to refresh our selves with the Fowles of these Ilands they are of divers sorts, and in great plentie, as Pengwins, wild Ducks, Guls and Gannets; of the principall we purposed to make provision, and those were the Pengwins. [IV. vii. 1385.] *Good provision in the Straits.*

The description of the Pengwin. The Pengwin is in all proportion like a Goose, and hath no feathers, but a certaine downe upon all parts of his bodie: and therefore cannot flee, but avayleth himselfe in all occasions with his feet, running as fast as most men. He liveth in the Sea, and on the Land feedeth on fish in the Sea, and as a Goose on the shore upon grasse. They harbour themselves under the ground in Burrowes, as the Conies; and in them hatch their young. All parts of the Iland where they haunted were undermined, save onely one Valley which (it seemeth) they reserved for their food; for it was as greene as any Medow in the moneth of Aprill, with a most fine short grasse. The flesh of these Pengwins is much of the savour of a certaine Fowle taken in the Ilands of Lundey and Silley, which we call Puffins, by the taste it is easily discerned that they feed on fish. They are very fat, and in dressing must be flead as the Byter; they are reasonable meate rosted, baked, or sodden; but best rosted. We salted some doozen or sixteene Hogsheads, which served us (whilest they lasted) in steed of powdred Beefe. *Hunting the Pengwin.* The hunting of them (as wee may well terme it) was a great recreation to my company and worth the sight, for in determining to catch them, necessarily was required good store of people, every one with a cudgell in his hand, to compasse them round about, to bring them, as it were, into a Ring; if they chanced to breake out, then was the sport, for the ground beeing undermined, at unawares it failed, and as they ranne after them, one fell here, another there, another offering to strike at one, lifting up his hand, sunke up to the armepits in the earth, another leaping to avoid one hole, fell into another. And after the first slaughter, in seeing us on the shoare,

they shunned us, and procured to recover the Sea: yea many times seeing themselves persecuted they would tumble downe from such high Rocks and Mountaines, as it seemed impossible to escape with life. Yet as soone as they came to the Beach, presently we should see them runne into the Sea, as though they had no hurt. Where one goeth, the other followeth, like sheepe after the Bel-weather: but in getting them once within the Ring close together, few escaped, save such as by chance hid themselves in the borrowes, and ordinarily there was no Drove which yeelded us not a thousand, and more: the manner of killing them which the Hunters used, beeing in a cluster together, was with their cudgels to knocke them on the head, for though a man gave them many blowes on the body they dyed not: Besides the flesh bruized is not good to keepe. The massacre ended, presently they cut of their heads, that they might bleed well: such as we determined to keepe for store, we saved in this manner. First, wee split them, and then washed them well in Sea-water, then salted them, having laine some sixe houres in Salt, we put them in presse eight houres, and the bloud being soaked out, wee salted them againe in our other caske, as is the custome to salt Beefe, after this manner they continued good some two moneths, and served us in steed of Beefe.

The keeping for store.

The Guls. The Guls and Gannets, were not in so great quantitie, yet we wanted not young Guls to eate all the time of our stay about these Ilands. It was one of the delicatest foods, that I have eaten in all my life.

Ducks. The Duckes are different to ours, and nothing so good meate; yet they may serve for necessitie: They were many, and had a part of the Iland to themselves severall, which was the highest Hill and more then a Musket shot over. In all the dayes of my life, I have not seene greater arte and curiositie in creatures voide of reason, then in the placing and making of their Nests; all the Hill being so full of them, that the

greatest Mathematician of the World, could not devise how to place one more then there was upon the Hill, leaving onely one path-way for a Fowle to passe betwixt. The Hill was all levell, as if it had beene smoothed by arte; the Nests made onely of earth, and seeming to be of the selfe-same mould; for the Nests and the soile is all one, which, with water that they bring in their Beakes, they make into Clay, or a certaine dawbe, and after fashion them round, as with a compasse. In the bottome they containe the measure of a foot; in the height about eight inches; and in the top, the same quantitie over; there they are hollowed in, somewhat deep, wherein they lay their Egges, without other prevention. And I am of opinion, that the Sun helpeth them to hatch their young: their Nests are for many years, and of one proportion, not one exceeding another in bignesse, in height, nor circumference; and in proportionable distance one from another. In all this Hill, nor in any of their Nests, was to be found a blade of grasse, a straw, a sticke, a feather, a moat, no, nor the filing of any Fowle, but all the Nests and passages betwixt them, were so smooth and cleane, as if they had bin newly swept & washed.

Cunning Architecture.

Their neatnes.

One day having ended our hunting of Pengwins, one of our Mariners walking about the Iland, discovered a great company of Seales, or Sea-wolves (so called for that they are in the Sea, as the Wolves on the Land) advising us, that he left them sleeping, with their bellies toasting against the Sunne: we provided our selves with staves and other weapons, and sought to steale upon them at unawares, to surprize some of them, and comming downe the side of a Hill, we were not discovered, till wee were close upon them, notwithstanding, their Sentinell (before wee could approach) with a great howl waked them: we got betwixt the Sea and some of them, but they shunned us not; for they came directly upon us; and though we dealt heere and there a blow, yet not a man that withstood them, escaped the overthrow.

Of Seales, or Sea-woolves.

They reckon not of a Musket shot, a sword pierceth not their skinne, and to give a blow with a staffe, is as to smite upon a stone: only in giving the blowe upon his snout, presently he falleth downe dead. After they had recovered the water, they did as it were, scorne us, defie us, and daunced before us, untill we had shot some Musket shot through them, and so they appeared no more.

Description of the Seale.

This fish is like unto a Calfe, with foure legs, but not above a spanne long: his skinne is hairy like a Calfe: but these were different to all that ever I have seene, yet I have seene of them in many parts; for these were greater, and in their former parts like unto Lions, with shagge haire, and mostaches. They live in the Sea, and come to sleepe on the Land, and they ever have one that watcheth, who adviseth them of any accident. They are beneficiall to man in their skinnes for many purposes: In their mostaches for Pick-tooths, and in their fatte to make Traine-oyle.

Their Sentinel.

Wee embarqued our selves, and set sayle with the winde at North-west, which could serve us but to an end of that reach, some dozen leagues long, and some three or foure leagues broad. It lieth next of any thing, till you come to Cape Agreda, South-west; from this Cape to Cape Froward, the coast lieth West South-west. Some foure leagues betwixt them, was the second peopling of the Spaniards: and this Cape lieth in 55. degrees and better. Thwart Cape Froward, the winde larged with us, and we continued our course towards the Iland of Elizabeth; which lieth from Cape Froward some foureteene leagues West and by South. This reach, is foure or five leagues broad, and in it are many channels or openings into the Sea; for all the land on the Souther part of the Straites are Ilands and broken land; and from the beginning of this reach to the end of the Straits, high moutainous Land on both sides, in most parts covered with Snowe all the yeere long. Betwixt the Iland Elizabeth, and the Maine,

The second peopling of the Spaniards.

is the narrowest passage of all the Straites; it may be some two Musket shot from side to side. From this Straite to Elizabeth Bay, is some foure leagues, and the course lieth North-west and by West. This Bay is all sandie, and cleane ground on the Easterne part; but before you come at it, there lieth a point of the shoare a good birth off, which is dangerous. And in this reach, as in many parts of the Straites, runneth a quicke and forcible tide. In the Bay it higheth eight or nine foot water. The Northerne part of the Bay hath foule ground, and Rockes under water: and therefore it is not wholsome borrowing of the Maine. One of Master Thomas Candish his Pinasses (as I have been enformed) came aground upon one of them, and he was in hazard to have left her there.

Elizabeth's Bay.

From Elizabeth Bay to the River of Jeronimo, is some five leagues. The course lieth West and by North, and West. Here the winde scanted, and forced us to seeke a place to anchor in. Our Boats going alongst the shoare, found a reasonable Harbour, which is right against that which they call, River Jeronimo: but it is another channell, by which a man may dissemboque the Straite, as by the other which is accustomed; for with a storme, which tooke us one night, suddenly wee were forced into that opening unwittingly; but in the morning, seeing our errour, and the winde larging, with two or three boords we turned into the old channell, not daring for want of our Pinasse to attempt any new Discoverie. This Harbour wee called Blanches Bay; for that it was found by William Blanch, one of our Masters Mates. Here having moored our ship, we beganne to make our provision of wood and water, whereof was plentie in this Bay, and in all other places from Pengwin Ilands, till within a dozen leagues of the mouth of the Straites.

The River of Jeronimo.

Another channell.

Blanches Bay.

Now finding our Deckes open, with the long lying under the Line, and on the coast of Brasill, the Sunne having beene in our Zenith many times, we calked our

ship, within boord and without, above the Deckes. And such was the diligence wee used, that at foure dayes end, wee had above threescore Pipes of water, and twentie Boats of wood stowed in our ship: no man was idle, nor otherwise busied but in necessarie workes: some in felling and cleaving of wood; some in carrying of water; some in romaging; some in washing, others in baking; one in heating of Pitch, another in gathering of Mussels: no man was exempted, but knew at evening, whereunto he was to betake himselfe the morning following.

Objection of waste. Some man might aske mee, how wee came to have so many emptie Caske in lesse then two moneths; for it seemeth much, that so few men in such short time, and in so long a Voyage should waste so much?

Answere. Whereto I answere, that it came not of excessive expense; for in health we never exceeded our ordinarie; but of a mischance which befell us unknowne in the Iland of Saint James, or Saint Anne, in the coast of Brasill; where wee refreshed our selves, and according to the custome, laid our Caske ashoare, to trimme it, and after to fill it, the place being commodious for us. But with the water a certaine worme, called Broma by the Spaniard, and by us Arters, entred also, which eate it so full of holes, that all the water soaked out, and made much of our Caske of small use. This we remedied the best wee could, and discovered it long before we came to this place.

Warning against wormes which eate through ships. Hereof let others take warning, in no place to have Caske on the shoare, where it may be avoyded; for it is one of the provisions which are with greatest care to be preserved in long Voyages, and hardest to be supplied. These Arters, or Broma, in all hot Countries enter into the plankes of ships, and especially where are Rivers of fresh water, (the common opinion is, that they are bred in fresh water, and with the current of the Rivers are brought into the Sea) but experience teacheth, that they breede in the great Seas, in all hot

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climates, especially neere the Equinoctiall Line: for lying so long under, and neere the Line, and towing a Shalop at our sterne, comming to cleanse her in Brasill, wee found her all under water covered with these wormes, as bigge as the little finger of a man, on the outside of the planke, not fully covered, but halfe the thicknesse of their bodie, like to a gellie wrought into the planke as with a Gowdge. In little time, if the ship bee not sheathed, they put all in hazard; for they enter in no bigger then a small Spanish Needle, and by little and little their holes become ordinarily greater then a mans finger. The thicker the planke is, the greater he groweth; yea, I have seene many ships so eaten, that the most of their plankes under water have beene like Honie-combes, and especially those betwixt winde and water. If they had not beene sheathed, it had beene impossible that they could have swomme. The entring of them is hardly to be discerned, the most of them being small as the head of a Pinne. Which, all such as purpose long Voyages, are to prevent by sheathing their ships.

Of sheathing ships.

And for that I have seene divers manners of sheathing, for the ignorant I will set them downe which by experience I have found best. In Spaine, and Portugall, some sheath their ships with Lead; which, besides the cost and weight, although they use the thinnest sheet-lead that I have seene in any place, yet it is nothing durable, but subject to many casualties. Another manner is used with double plankes, as thicke without as within, after the manner of furring; which is little better then that with Lead: for besides his weight, it dureth little, because the Worme in small time passeth through the one and the other. A third manner of sheathing had beene used amongst some with fine Canvas; which is of small continuance, and so not to be regarded. The fourth prevention, which now is most accounted of is to burne the upper planke till it come to be in every place like a Cole, and after to pitch it: this is not bad.

In Spaine and Portugall with double plankes.

With Canvas.

With burnt plankes.

In China with Varnish. In China, (as I have beene enformed) they use a certaine Betane or Varnish, in manner of an artificiall Pitch, wherewith they trimme the outside of their ships. It is said to bee durable, and of that vertue, as neither worme, nor water pierceth it; neither hath the Sunne power against it. Some have devised a certaine Pitch, mingled with Glasse, and other ingredients, beaten into powder, with which if the ship be pitched, it is said, the worme that toucheth it, dieth: but I have not heard, that it hath beene usefull. But the most approved *In England.* of all is the manner of sheathing used now adayes in England, with thinne boords, halfe inch thicke, the thinner the better, and Elme better then Oake; for it riveth not, it indureth better under water, and yeeldeth better to the ships side.

The invention of the materials incorporated betwixt the planke and the sheathing, is that indeed which avayleth; for without it many plankes were not sufficient to hinder the entrance of this worme: this manner *Best manner of sheathing.* is thus: Before the sheathing boord is nayled on, upon the inner side of it, they smere it over with Tarre, halfe a finger thicke, and upon the Tarre, another halfe thicke of haire, such as the White-lymers use, and so nayle it on, the nayles not above a spanne distance one from another: the thicker they are driven, the better. Some hold opinion, that the Tarre killeth the worme; others, that the worme passing the sheathing, and seeking a way through, the haire and the Tarre so involve, that hee is choaked therewith; which mee thinkes is most probable: this manner of sheathing was invented by my Father; and experience hath taught it to be the best, and of least cost.

Such was the diligence we used for our dispatch to shoot the Straits, that at foure dayes end, we had our water and wood stowed in our ship, all our Copperworke finished, and our ship calked from Post to Stemme: the first day in the morning (the winde being faire) we brought our selves into the channell, and

sayled towards the mouth of the Straites, praising God: and beginning our course with little winde, wee descried a fire upon the shoare, made by the Indians for a signe to call us; which seene, I caused a Boat to bee man'd, and wee rowed ashoare, to see what their meaning was, and approaching neere the shoare, we saw a Canoa made fast under a Rocke with a Wyth, most artificially made with the rindes of trees, and sewed together with the finnes of Whales; at both ends sharpe and turning up, with a greene bough in either end, and ribbes for strengthening it. After a little while we might discerne on the fall of the Mountaine (which was full of trees and shrubs) two or three Indians naked, which came out of certaine Caves or Cotes. They spake unto us, and made divers signes; now pointing to the Harbour, out of which we were come; and then to the mouth of the Straites: but we understood nothing of their meaning. Yet left they us with many imaginations, suspecting it might bee to advise us of our Pinnace, or some other thing of moment: but for that they were under covert, and might worke us some treacherie (for all the people of the Straits, and the Land neere them, use all the villanie they can towards white people, taking them for Spaniards, in revenge of the deceit that Nation hath used towards them upon sundry occasions:) as also for that by our stay wee could reape nothing but hinderance of our Navigation, wee hasted to our ship, and sayled on our course.

The Naturals.

From Blanches Bay to long Reach, which is some foure leagues, the course lieth West South-west entring into the long Reach, which is the last of the Straits, and longest. For it is some thirtie two leagues, and the course lieth next of any thing North-west. Before the setting of the Sunne, wee had the mouth of the Straites open, and were in great hope the next day to be in the South Sea: but about seven of the clocke that night, we saw a great cloude arise out of the North-east, which began to cast forth great flashes of

Long Reach.

Mouth of the Straits.

[IV. vii. 1388.] lightnings, and suddenly sayling with a fresh gale of winde at North-east, another more forcible tooke us astayes, which put us in danger: for, all our sayles being a taut, it had like to have overset our ship, before we could take in our sayles. And therefore in all such semblances it is great wisedome to carrie a short sayle, or to take in all sayles. Here we found what the Indians forewarned us of: for they have great insight in the change of weather, and besides have secret dealing with the Prince of Darknesse, who many times declareth unto them things to come: By this meanes and other witchcrafts, which he teacheth them, he possesseth them, and causeth them to doe what pleaseth him. Within halfe an houre it began to thunder and raine, with so much winde as wee were forced to lie a hull, and so darke, that we saw nothing, but when the lightning came. This being one of the narrowest Reaches of all the Straites, we were forced, every glasse, to open a little of our foresayle, to cast about our ships head: any man may conceive if the night seemed long unto us, what desire we had to see the day. In fine, Phœbus with his beautifull face lightned our Hemisphere, and rejoyced our hearts (having driven above twentie foure leagues in twelve houres lying a hull: whereby is to be imagined the force of the winde and current.)

Note.

Tempest.

Wee set our fore-sayle, and returned to our former Harbour: from whence, within three or foure dayes, we set sayle againe with a faire winde, which continued with us till we came within a league of the mouth of the Strait, here the winde tooke us againe contrarie, and forced us to returne againe to our former Port: where being ready to anchor, the winde scanted with us in such manner, as we were forced to make aboord. In which time, the winde and tide put us so farre to leewards, that we could by no meanes seize it: So wee determined to goe to Elizabeth Bay, but before we came at it, the night overtooke us: and this Reach being dangerous and narrow, we durst neither hull, nor

trie, or turne to and againe with a short sayle, and therefore bare alongst in the middest of the channell, till we were come into the broad Reach, then lay a hull till the morning.

When we set sayle and ran alongst the coast, seeking with our Boate some place to anchor in; some foure leagues to the Westwards of Cape Froward, we found a goodly Bay; which we named English Bay: where anchored, wee presently went ashoare, and found a goodly River of fresh water, and an old Canoa broken to pieces, and some two or three of the houses of the Indians, with pieces of Seale stinking ripe. These houses are made in fashion of an Oven seven or eight foot broad, with boughs of trees, and covered with other boughes, as our Summer houses; and doubtlesse doe serve them but for the Summer time, when they come to fish, and profite themselves of the Sea. For they retire themselves in the Winter into the Countrie, where it is more temperate, and yeeldeth better sustenance: for on the Mayne of the Straites, we neither saw beast nor fowle, Sea-fowle excepted, and a kinde of Black-bird, and two Hogs towards the beginning of the Straits. Here our ship being well moored, we began to supplie our wood and water, that we had spent. Which being a dayes worke, and the winde during many dayes contrary, I endeavored to keep my people occupied, to divert them from the imagination which some had conceived; that it behoved we should returne to Brasill, and winter there, and so shoot the Straits in the Spring of the yeere. One day wee rowed up the River, with our Boate and Light-horseman, to discover it, and the Inland: where having spent a good part of the day, and finding shoald water, and many Trees fallen thwart it, and little fruit of our labour, nor any thing worth the noting, wee returned. Another day, wee trained our people ashoare, being a goodly sandy Bay: another, wee had a hurling of Batchelors against married men; this day we were busied in wrestling, the other in shooting;

English Bay.

The natives houses.

Sloth cause of imagination.

so we were never idle, neither thought we the time long.

After wee had past here some seven or eight dayes, one evening with a flaw from the shoare, our ship drove off into the channell, and before wee could get up our Anchor, and set our Sayles, we were driven so farre to lee-wards, that wee could not recover into the Bay; and night comming on, with a short sayle, we beate off and on till the morning. At the breake of the day conferring with the Captaine and Master of my ship, what was best to bee done, wee resolved *Tobias Cove.* to seeke out Tobias Cove, which lieth over against Cape Fryo, on the Southerne part of the Straits, because in all the Reaches of the Straits (for the most part) the winde bloweth trade, and therefore little profit to be made by turning to winde-wards. And from the Ilands of the Pengwins to the end of the Straites towards the South-sea, there is no anchoring in the channell: and if we should be put to lee-wards of this Cove, we had no succour till we came to the Ilands of Pengwins; and some of our companie which had been with M. Th. Candish in the Voyage in which he died, and in the same Cove many weekes, undertooke to be our Pilots thither. Whereupon wee bare up, being some two leagues thither, having so much winde as we could scarce lie by it with our course and bonnet of each; but bearing up before the winde, we put out our Topsayles and Spritsayle, and within a little while the winde began to sayle us, and immediatly *Setting of the ship upon a Rocke.* our ship gave a mightie blowe upon a Rocke, and stucke fast upon it. And had wee had but the fourth part of the winde, which we had in all the night past, but a moment before wee strucke the Rocke, our ship, doubtlesse, with the blowe had broken her selfe all to pieces.

To the laborious God propitious. All our labour was fruitlesse till God was pleased that the floud came, and then wee had her off with great joy and comfort, when finding the current favour-

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able with us, wee stood over to English Bay, and fetching it, we anchored there, having beene some three houres upon the Rock, and with the blowe, as after we saw, when our ship was brought a ground in Perico (which is the Port of Panama) a great part of her sheathing was beaten off on both sides of her Bulges, and some foure foot long, and a foot square of her false stemme, joyning to the Keele, wrested acrosse, like unto a Hogs yoake, which hindered her sayling very much.

They sounded a Cove some sixteene leagues from the mouth of the Straite, which after wee called Crabby Cove. It brooked his name well for two causes; the one, for that all the water was full of a small kinde of red Crabbes; the other, for the crabbed Mountaines which over-topped it: a third wee might adde, for the crabbed entertainment it gave us. In this Cove wee anchored, but the wind freshing in, and three or foure Hills over-topping (like Sugar-loaves) altered and straightned the passage of the wind in such manner, as forced it downe with such violence in flawes and furious blustrings, as was like to overset our ship at Anchor, and caused her to drive, and us to weigh; but before we could weigh it, she was so neere the Rocks and the puffes and gusts of wind so sudden and uncertain, somtimes scant, somtimes large, that it forced us to cut our Cable, and yet dangerous if our ship did not cast the right way. Here necessitie, not being subject to any law, forced us to put our selves into the hands of him that was able to deliver us. Wee cut our Cable and Sayle all in one instant: And God to shew his power and gracious bountie towards us, was pleased that our ship cast the contrarie way towards the shoare, seeming that hee with his owne hand did wend her about: for in lesse then her length, she flatted, and in all the Voyage but at that instant, shee flatted with difficultie, for that shee was long; the worst propertie shee had. On either side we might see the Rockes

Crabby Cove.

Gods gracious deliverance.

under us, and were not halfe a ships length from the shoare, and if shee had once touched, it had beene impossible to have escaped.

From hence wee returned to Blanches Bay, and there anchored, expecting Gods good will and pleasure. Here beganne the bitternesse of the time to encrease with blustering and sharpe windes, accompanied with raine and fleeting snowe, and my people to bee dismayed againe, in manifesting a desire to returne to Brasill, which I would never consent unto, no, not so much as to heare of.

Voyage overthrowne by giving way to murderers.

And all men are to take care, that they goe not one foote backe, more then is of meere force; for I have not seene, that any who have yeelded thereunto, but presently they have returned home. As in the

Edward Fenton and Master Thomas Candish.

Voyage of Master Edward Fenton; in that which the Earle of Cumberland set forth, to his great charge; as also in that of Master Thomas Candish, in which he died. All which pretended to shoote the Straite, of Magelan, and by perswasion of some ignorant persons, being in good possibilitie, were brought to consent to returne to Brasill, to winter, and after in the Spring to attempt the passing of the Straite againe. None of them made any abode in Brasill: for presently as soone as they looked homeward, one, with a little blustering winde taketh occasion to lose companie; another complaineth, that he wanteth victuals; another, that his ship is leake; another, that his masts, sayles, cordidge fayleth him. So the willing never want probable reasons to further their pretences. As I saw once (being but young, and more bold then experimented) in the yeere 1582. in a Voyage, under the charge of my Uncle

Master William Hawkins.

William Hawkins of Plimouth, Esquire, in the Indies, at the Wester end of the Iland of San Juan de Portorico; One of the ships (called the Barke bonner) being somewhat leake, the Captaine complayned that shee was not able to endure to England: whereupon a Counsell was called, and his reasons heard, and allowed. So it

was concluded, that the Victuall, Munition, and what was serviceable, should be taken out of her, and her men divided amongst our other ships; the Hull remayning to be sunke, or burned. To which I nęver spake word till I saw it resolved; being my part rather to learne, then to advise. But seeing the fatall sentence given, and suspecting that the Captaine made it worse then it was, rather upon policie to come into another ship, which was better of sayle, then for any danger they might runne into: with as much reason as my capacitie could reach unto, I disswaded my Uncle privately; And urged, that seeing wee had profited the Adventurers nothing, we should endeavour to preserve our principall; especially, having men and victuals. But seeing I prevayled not, I went further, and offered to finde out in the same ship, and others, so many men, as with me would be content to carrie her home, giving us the third part of the value of the ship, as shee should be valued at, at her returne, by foure indifferent persons; and to leave the Vice-admirall, which I had under my charge, and to make her Vice-admirall. Whereupon it was condescended, that wee should all goe aboord the ship, and that there it should be determined. The Captaine thought himselfe somewhat touched in Reputation, and so would not that further triall should be made of the matter; saying, that if another man was able to carrie the ship into England, he would in no case leave her, neither would he forsake her till shee sunke under him. The Generall commended him for his resolution, and thanked me for my offer, tending to the generall good; my intention being to force those who for gaine could undertake to carrie her home, should also doe it gratis, according to their Obligation. Thus, this leake-ship went well into England; where, after she made many a good Voyage in nine yeeres.

As the weather gave leave, wee entertained our selves the first dayes in necessarie affaires and workes, and

after in making of Coale, with intent (the winde continuing long very contrarie) to see if wee could remedie any of our broken Anchours; a Forge I had in my ship, and of five Anchors which we brought out of England, there remained but one that was serviceable.

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In the Ilands of Pengwins we lost one, in Crabbie Cove another: a third, upon another occasion, we broke an arme, and the fourth, on the Rocke, had the eye of his Ring broken. This (one day devising with my selfe) I made to serve, without working him a new. Which when I tooke first in hand, all men thought it ridiculous: but in fine, we made it in that manner so serviceable, as till our ship came to Callaw, which is the Port of Lyma, shee scarce used any other Anchor, and when I came from Lyma to Panama, which was three yeeres after, I saw it serve the Admirall in which I came (a ship of above 500. tuns) without other arte or addition, then what my owne invention contrived.

The mending of an unserviceable Anchor.

And for that in the like necessitie, or occasion, others may profit themselves of the industrie, I will recount the manner of the forging our eye without fire, or Iron. It was in this sort. From the eye of the shanke, about the head of the crosse, we gave two turnes with a new strong Halser, betwixt three and foure inches, giving a reasonable allowance for that, which should be the eye, and served in stead of the Ring, then we fastned the two ends of the Halser, so as in that part it was as strong as in any other, and with our Capsten stretched the two bightes, that every part might beare proportionably, then armed we all the Halser round about with sixe yarne Synnets, and likewise the shanke of the Anchor, and the head with a smooth Mat made of the same Synnet: this done, with an inch Rope, we woolled the two bightes to the shanke, from the crosse to the eye, and that also which was to serve for the Ring, and fitted the stocke accordingly. This done, those who before derided the invention, were of

opinion, that it would serve for need; onely they put one difficultie, that with the fall or pitch of the Anchor in hard ground, with his waight he would cut the Halser in sunder on the head; for prevention whereof, we placed a panch (as the Mariners term it) upon the head of the Anchor, with whose softnesse this danger was prevented, and the Anchor past for serviceable.

Entertainment of time to avoid idlenesse.

Some of our idle time we spent in gathering the barke and fruit of a certaine Tree, which we found in all places of the Straits, where we found Trees. This Tree carrieth his fruit in clusters like a Hawthorne, but that it is greene, each berry of the bignesse of a Pepper-corne, and every of them contayning within foure or five granes, twice as bigge as a Musterd-seed, which broken, are white within, as the good Pepper, and bite much like it, but hotter. The barke of this Tree, hath the savour of all kinde of Spices together, most comfortable to the stomack, and held to bee better then any Spice whatsoer. And for that a learned Countriman of ours Doctor Turner, hath written of it, by the name of Winters Barke, what I have said may suffice. The leafe of this Tree is a whitish greene, and is not unlike to the Aspen leafe.

A kind of hot Spice in the Straits.

In gathering of Winters Barke.

Of Pearles in the Straits.

Otherwhiles we entertained our selves in gathering of Pearles out of Muscles, whereof there are abundance in all places, from Cape Froward, to the end of the Straits. The Pearles are but of a bad colour, and small, but it may be that in the great Muscles in deeper water, the Pearles are bigger, and of greater value, of the small seed Pearle, there was great quantitie, and the Muscles were a great refreshing unto us: for they were exceeding good, and in great plentie. And here let mee crave pardon if I erre, seeing I disclaime from beeing a Naturalist, by delivering my opinion touching the breeding of these Pearles, which I thinke to be of a farre different nature and qualitie to those found in the East and West Indies, which are found in Oysters, growing in the shell, under the ruffe of the Oyster,

Discourse of Pearles how they breed.

some say of the dew, which I hold to be some old Philosophers conceit, for that it cannot be made probable, how the dew should come into the Oyster: and if this were true, then, questionlesse, we should have them in our Oysters, as in those of the East and West Indies: but those Oysters were by the Creator, made to bring forth this rare fruit, all their shels being (to looke to) Pearle it selfe. And the other Pearles found in our Oysters and Muscles, in divers parts are ingendred out of the fatnesse of the fish, in the very substance of the fish, so that in some Muscles have bin found twentie and thirtie, in severall parts of the fish, and these not perfect in colour, nor cleernesse, as those found in the Pearle-oysters, which are ever perfect in colour and cleernesse, like the Sunne in his rising, and therefore called Orientall, and not (as is supposed) because out of the East, for they are as well found in the West, and no way inferiour to those of the East Indies. Other fish, besides Seales and Crabbes, like Shrimpes, and one Whale with two or three Porpusses, we saw not in all the Straits.

Prevention of Rats.

Heere wee made also a survay of our victuals, and opening certaine Barrels of Oatten meale, wee found a great part of some of them, as also of our Pipes and Fats of bread, eaten and consumed by the Rats; doubtlesse, a fift part my company did not eate so much, as these devoured, as we found daily in comming to spend any of our provisions. When I came to the Sea, it was not suspected, that I had a Rat in my ship; but with the bread in Caske, which wee transported out of the Hawke, and the going to and againe of our Boats unto our prize, (though wee had divers Cats and used other preventions) in a small time they multiplyed in such a manner, is incredible; It is one of the generall calamities of all long Voyages, and would bee carefully prevented, as much as may be. For besides that which they consume of the best victuals, they eate the sayles; and neither packe, nor chest, is free from

their surprizes. I have knowne them to make a hole in a Pipe of water, and seying the Pumpe, have put all in feare, doubting lest some leak had bin sprung upon the ship. Moreover, I have heard credible persons report, that ships have beene put in danger by them to be sunke, by a hole made in the bulge. All which is easily remedied at the first, but if once they be somewhat increased, with difficultie they are to be destroied. And although I propounded a reward for every Rat which was taken, and sought meanes by poison, and other inventions to consume them, yet their increase being so ordinary and many; wee were not able to cleare our selves from them.

The calamities they bring to a ship.

At the end of fourteene dayes, one evening being calme, and a goodly cleare in the Easter-boord, I willed our Anchor to be weyed, and determined to goe into the Channell, being gotten into the Channell, within an houre, the wind came good, and we sailed merrily on our Voyage; and by the breake of the day, we had the mouth of the Straits open, and about foure of the clock in the afternoone, we were thwart of Cape Desire; which is the Westermost part of the Land on the Souther side of the Straits.

Backwardnes in the company.

Cape Desire.

§. IIII.

Entrance into the South Sea; discovery of the South parts of the Straits to bee but Ilands by Sir Francis Drake (which the Hollanders ascribe to Maire and Schouten.) Of the Iland Mocha, and the parts adjoyning.

FRom Cape Desire, some foure leagues Northwest, lie foure Ilands, which are very small, and the middlemost of them is of the fashion of a Sugar-loafe. Wee were no sooner cleere of Cape Desire, and his ledge of Rockes (which lie a great way off into the Sea) but the wind tooke us contrary by the

North-west; and so wee stood off into the Sea two dayes and two nights to the Westwards. In all the Straits it ebbeth and floweth more or lesse, and in many places in hieth very little water, but in some Bayes, where are great Indraughts, it higheth eight or ten foot, and doubtlesse, further in, more.

If a man be furnished with wood and water, and the winde good, hee may keepe the Mayne Sea, and goe round about the Straits to the Southwards, and it is the shorter way; for besides the experience which we made, that all the South part of the Straits is but Ilands, many times having the Sea open, I remember, that Sir Francis Drake told mee, that having shot the Straits, a storme tooke him first at North-west, and after vered about to the South-west, which continued with him many dayes, with that extremitie, that he could not open any sayle, and that at the end of the storme, he found himselfe in fiftie degrees, which was sufficient testimony and proofe, that he was beaten round about the Straits, for the least height of the Straits is in fiftie two degrees and fiftie minutes; in which stand the two entrances or mouthes. And moreover, hee said, that standing about, when the winde changed, hee was not well able to double the Southermost Iland, and so anchored under the lee of it; and going ashoare, carried a Compasse with him, and seeking out the Southermost part of the Iland, cast himselfe downe upon the uttermost point groveling, and so reached out his bodie over it. Presently he imbarked, and then recounted unto his people, that he had beene upon the Southermost knowne Land in the World, and more further to the Southwards upon it, then any of them, yea, or any man as yet knowne. These testimonies may suffice for this truth unto all,

South part of the Straits Ilands.

The Hollanders challenge the discovery of new Straits by Mayre and Schouten before twice sailed about by Sir F. Drake. See sup. the Preface to the second Chapter of lib. 3.

Sir F. Drake imbraceth the Southermost point of the World. Since this, in that Voiage wherein W. Adams was Pilot (whose voiage and Seb. Werts ye have in the former Tome)

Theodore Gerards one of that fleet, was caried by tempest, as they write to 64. degrees South, in which height the country was mountainous and covered with snow, looking like Norway. It seemed to extend towards the Ilands of Salomon. Simon de Cordes another of that fleet after prosperous successe in Chili, was taken by the Portugals at the Moluccas, and carried to Malacca prisoner.

but such as are incredulous, and will beleeve nothing but what they see; for my part, I am of opinion, that the Straite is navigable all the yeere long, although the best time bee in November, December, and January, and then the windes more favourable, which other times are variable, as in all narrow Seas.

Being some fiftie leagues a Sea-boord the Straits, the winde vering to the West-wards, wee cast about to the Northwards; and lying the Coast along, shaped our course for the Iland Mocha. About the fifteenth of Aprill, we were thwart of Baldivia, which was then in the hands of the Spaniards, but since the Indians, in Anno 1599. dispossessed them of it, and the Conception; which are two of the most principall places they had in that Kingdome, and both Ports. Baldivia had its name of a Spanish Captaine so called, whom afterwards the Indians tooke Prisoner, and it is said, they required of him the reason why hee came to molest them, and to take their Countrey from them, having no title nor right thereunto; he answered, to get Gold; which the barbarous understanding, caused Gold to bee molten, and powred downe his throate; saying, Gold was thy desire, glut thee with it. It standeth in forty degrees, hath a pleasant River and Navigable; for a Ship of good burthen may goe as high up as the Citie, and is a goodly wood Countrey.

Mocha. Baldivia and Conception wonne from the Spaniards by the Indians.

Heere our Beefe began to take end, and was then as good, as the day wee departed from England; it was preserved in Pickell, which, though it bee more chargeable, yet the profit payeth the charge, in that it is made durable, contrary to the opinion of many, which hold it impossible, that Beefe should be kept good passing the Equinoctiall Line. And of our Porke I eate in the house of Don Beltran de Castro in Lyma, neere foure yeeres old, very good, preserved after the same manner, notwithstanding, it had lost his Pickle long before.

Beefe kept most safely in Pickell.

[IV. vii. 1392.]

Some degrees before a man come to Baldivia to the

Southwards, as Spaniards have told mee, lyeth the *Iland Chule.* Iland Chule, not easily to be discerned from the Mayne; for he that passeth by it, cannot but thinke it to bee the Mayne. It is said to bee inhabited by the Spaniards, but badly, yet rich of Gold.

The nineteenth of Aprill, being Easter-even, we *Iland Mocha.* anchored under the Iland Mocha. It lyeth in thirty nine degrees, it may bee some foure leagues over, and is a high mountaynous Hill, but round about the foot thereof, some halfe league from the Sea-shore, it is Champaine ground, wel inhabited and manured. From *Note.* the Straits to this Iland, we found, that either the Coast is set out more Westerly then it is, or that we had a great current, which put us to the Westwards; for wee had not sight of Land in three dayes after our reckoning was to see it; but for that wee coasted not the Land, I cannot determine, whether it was caused by the current, or lying of the Land. But Spaniards which have sayled alongst it, have told me, that it is a bold and safe Coast, and reasonable sounding of it.

In this Iland of Mocha we had communication and contractation with the Inhabitants, but with great vigilancie and care; for they and all the people of Chily, are mortall enemies to the Spaniards, and held us to bee of them; and so esteemed Sir Francis Drake, when hee was in this Iland, which was the first Land also that hee touched *Treacherie of the Indians.* on this Coast. They used him with so fine a treachery, that they possessed themselves of all the Oares in his Boat, saving two, and in striving to get them also, they slue, and hurt all his men; himselfe who had fewest wounds, had three, and two of them in the head. Two of his company which lived long after, had, the one seventeene; his name was John Bruer, who afterward was Pilot with Master Candish; and the other above twentie, a Negro Servant to Sir Francis Drake. And with me they used a policie, which amongst barbarous people was not to be imagined, although I wrought sure; for I suffered none to treate with me,

nor with my people with Armes. Wee were armed, and met upon a Rocke compassed with water, whether they came to parley and negotiate. Beeing in communication with the Casiques, and others, many of the Indians, came to the heads of our Boates, and some went into them. Certaine of my people standing to defend the Boats with their Oares, for that there went a bad sege, were forced to lay downe their Muskets, which the Indians perceiving, endeavoured to fill the barrels with water, taking it out of the Sea in the hollow of their hands. By chance casting mine eye aside, I discovered their slynesse, and with a Truncheon, which I had in mine hand, gave the Indians three or foure good Lambeskinnes.

Of Sheepe.

The sheepe of this Iland are great, good, and fat; I have not tasted better Mutton any where. They were as ours, and doubtlesse of the breed of those, which the Spaniards brought into the Countrey. Of the sheepe of the Countrey, wee could by no meanes procure any one, although we saw of them, and used meanes to have had of them.

Their apparel, and housing.

This Iland is situate in the Province of Arawca, and is held to bee peopled with the most valiant Nation in all Chily, though generally the Inhabitants of that Kingdome are very couragious. They are clothed after the manner of antiquitie, all of woollen; their Cassockes made like a Sacke, square, with two holes for the two armes, and one for the head; all open below, without lining or other art: but of them, some are most curiously woven, and in colours, and on both sides alike. Their houses are made round, in fashion like unto our Pidgeon houses, with a lover in the top, to evacuate the smoake when they make fire. They brought us a strange kinde of Tobacco, made into little cakes, like Pitch, of a bad smell, with holes through the middle, and so laced many upon a string. The people of this Iland, as of all Chily, are of good stature, and well made, and of better countenance then those Indians

Strange Tobacco.

People of Chily.

which I have seene in many parts. They are of good understanding, and agilitie, and of great strength; Their weapons are Bowes, and Arrowes and Macanas, their Bowes short and strong, and their Arrowes of a small Reed, or Cane, three quarters of a yard long, with two Feathers, and headed with a flint-stone, which is loose, and hurting, the head remaineth in the wound, some are headed with bone, and some with hard wood, halfe burnt in the fire. We came betwixt the Iland and the Mayne; On the South-west part of the Iland lieth a great ledge of Rockes, which are dangerous; and it is good to be carefull how to come too neere the Iland on all parts.

Their weapons.

Immediately when they discovered us, both upon the Iland and the Mayne, wee might see them make sundry great fires, which were to give advice to the rest of the people to bee in a readinesse: for they have continuall and mortall warre with the Spaniards, and the shippes they see, they beleeve to be their Enemies. The Citie Imperiall lyeth over against this Iland, but eight or ten leagues into the Countrey: for all the Sea-Coast from Baldivia, till thirtie sixe Degrees, the Indians have now (in a manner) in their hands free from any Spaniards.

Their hate to the Spaniards.

Imperiall.

Having refreshed our selves well in this Iland, for that little time we stayed, which was some three dayes, we set sayle with great joy, and with a faire winde sayled alongst the Coast, and some eight leagues to the North-wards, wee anchored againe in a goodly Bay, and sent our Boats ashoare, with desire to speake with some of the Indians of Arawca, and to see if they would be content to entertaine amitie, or to chop and change with us. But all that night and the next morning appeared not one person, and so we set saile againe; and towards the Evening the wind began to change, and to blow contrary, and that so much, and the Sea to rise so suddenly, that wee could not take in our Boats, without spoyling of them. This storme continued

[IV. vii. 1393.]

A cruel storme in the Sea of Ladies. In it they lost their light horsman.

with us tenne dayes beyond expectation, for that wee thought our selves out of the Climate of fowle weather, but truely it was one of the sharpest stormes that ever I felt to endure so long.

The storme tooke end, and we shaped our course for the Iland of Saint Maries, which lyeth in thirtie seven degrees and fortie minutes, and before you come unto the Iland some two leagues, in the Trade way lieth a Rocke, which afarre off, seemeth to be a ship under sayle. This Iland is little and low, but fertill and well peopled with Indians and some few Spaniards in it. Some ten leagues to the Northwards of this Iland, lieth the Citie Conception, with a good Port; from this wee coasted alongst till wee came in thirtie three degrees and forty minutes. In which height lay the Ilands of Juan Fernandes, betwixt threescore and fourescore leagues from the shoare, plentifull of fish, and good for refreshing. I purposed for many reasons not to discover my selfe on this Coast, till we were past Lyma, (otherwise called Ciuidad de los Reyes, for that it was entred by the Spaniard the day of the three Kings;) but my company urged me so farre, that except I should seeme in all things to over-beare them, in not condiscending to that which in the opinion of all (but my selfe) seemed profitable and best, I could not but yeeld unto, though it carried a false colour, as the end prooved, for it was our perdition. This all my company knoweth to be true, whereof some are yet living, and can give testimonie.

Saint Maries.

City of Conception.

Juan Fernandes.

Good to avoid discovery.

But the Mariner is ordinarily so carried away with the desire of Pillage, as sometimes for very appearances of small moment, he looseth his Voyage, and many times himselfe. And so the greedinesse of spoile, onely hoped for in ships of Trade, which goe too and fro in this Coast, blinded them from forecasting the perill, whereinto wee exposed our Voyage, in discovering our selves before we past the Coast of Callao, which is the Port of Lyma; To bee short, wee haled the Coast aboord, and that Evening wee discovered the

Wilfulnesse of Mariners.

Port of Valparizo, which serveth the Citie of Saint Iago, standing some twentie leagues into the Countrey; when presently wee descried foure shippes at an Anchor: whereupon wee manned, and armed our Boate, which rowed towards the shippes: they seeing us turning in, and fearing that which was, ranne ashoare with that little they could save; and left us the rest: whereof, wee were Masters in a moment, and had the rifling of all the Store-houses on the shoare.

They seize upon foure ships.

This night, I set a good guard in all the shippes, longing to see the light of the next morning, to put all things in order; which appearing, I beganne to survay them, and found nothing of moment, save five hundred Botozios of Wine, two or three thousand of Hennes, and some refreshing of Bread, Bacon, dryed Beefe, Waxe, Candles, and other necessaries. The rest of their lading was plankes, Sparres, and Timber, for Lyma, and the Valleyes, which is a rich Trade; for it hath no Timber, but that which is brought to it from other places. They had also many packs of Indian Mantles (but of no value unto us) with much Tallow, and Manteca de Puerco, and abundance of great new Chests, in which we had thought to bee some great masse of wealth, but opening them, found nothing but Apples therein; all which was good Merchandize in Lyma, but to us of smal account. The Merchandize on shore, in their store-houses was the like, and therefore in the same predicament. The Owners of the ships gave us to understand, that at a reasonable price they would redeeme their ships and loading, which I harkened unto; and so admitted certaine persons which might treate of the matter, and concluded with them for a small price, rather then to burne them, saving for the greatest, which I carried with me, more to give satisfaction to my people, then for any other respect; because they would not be perswaded, but that there was much Gold hidden in her; otherwise she would have yeelded us more then the other three.

And the Warehouses.

Being in this Treaty, one morning, at the breake of day, came another ship towring into the harbor, and standing into the shoare, but was becalmed. Against her we manned a couple of Boats, and tooke her before many houres. In this ship we had some good quantitie of Gold, which shee had gathered in Baldivia, and the Conception, from whence shee came. Of this ship was Pilot, and part owner, Alonso Perezbueno, whom we kept for our Pilot on this Coast; till moved with compassion (for that he was a man charged with wife and children) we set him ashoare betwixt Santa and Truxillo. Out of this ship we had also store of good Bacon, and some provision of Bread, Hens, and other victuall. We gave them the ship, and the greatest part of her loading freely.

They seize upon another ship, and some gold.

Here wee supplied our want of Anchors, though not according to that which was requisite, in regard of the burden of our ship; for in the South Sea, the greatest Anchor for a ship of sixe or eight hundred tunnes, is not a thousand waight; partly, because it is little subject to stormes, and partly, because those they had till our comming, were all brought out of the North Sea by Land; for they make no Anchors in those Countreyes. And the first Artillerie they had, was also brought over Land; which was small, the carriage and passage from Nombre de Dios, or Porto Bello to Panama, being most difficult and steepe, up hill and downe hill, they are all carried upon Negroes backes. But some yeeres before my imprisonment, they fell to making of Artillery, and since they forge Anchors also. We furnished our ship also with a shift of sailes, of Cotton-cloth, which are farre better in that Sea, then any of our double sayles, for that in all the Navigation of that Sea, they have little raine and few stormes, but where raine and stormes are ordinary, they are not good; for with the wet they grow so stiffe, that they cannot be handled.

Light Anchors brought from the North Sea. [IV. vii. 1394.]

And the first Artillerie.

Sayles of Cotton-cloth.

In treating of the ransomes, and transporting and lading the provisions wee made choice of, wee spent

some sixe or eight dayes, at the end whereof, with reputation amongst our enemies, and a good portion towards our charges and our ship as well stored and victualled, as the day we departed from England, we set sayle.

They depart from Lyma, and conceale their weaknes.

The time we were in this Port, I took small rest, and so did the Master of our ship, Hugh Cornish, a most carefull, orderly and sufficient man, because wee knew our owne weaknesse; for entring into the Harbour, wee had but seventie five men and boyes, five ships to guard, and every one moored by himselfe, which (no doubt) if our enemies had knowne, they would have wrought some stratagem upon us; for the Governour of Chily was there on shoare in view of us, an ancient Flanders Souldier, and of experience, wisdome, and valour, called Don Alonso de Soto Mayor, of the habit of Saint Iago, who was after Captaine Generall in Terra firme, and wrought all the inventions upon the River of Chagree, and on the shoare, when Sir Francis Drake purposed to goe to Panama, in the Voyage wherein he died. As also at my comming into Spaine, hee was President in Panama, and there, and in Lyma, used mee with great courtesie, like a Noble Souldier, and liberall Gentleman; hee confessed to mee after, that hee lay in ambush, with three hundred horse and foot, to see if at any time we had landed, or neglected our watch, with Balsas, which is a certain Raffe made of Masts or Trees fastened together, to have attempted something against us. But the enemy I feared not so much as the Wine; which, notwithstanding all the diligence and prevention I could use day and night, overthrew many of my people. A foule fault, because too common amongst Sea-men, and deserveth some rigorous punishment with severitie to be executed.

The noblenes of Alonso de Soto.

The enemy lesse dangerous then the Wine.

Description of the Bay.

A league or better before a man discover this Bay to the South-wards, lieth a great Rocke, or small Iland, neere the shoare, under which, for a need, a man may ride with his ship. It is a good marke, and sure signe

of the Port, and discovering the Bay a man must give a good birth to the Harbour; for it hath perillous Rockes lying a good distance off. It neither ebbeth nor floweth in this Port, nor from this, till a man come to Guayaquill, which is three degrees from the Equinoctiall Line to the South-wards; let this be considered. It is a good Harbour for all winds, that partake not of the North; for it runneth up South and by West, and South South-west, but it hath much foule ground.

Note of tides.

In one of these ships we found a new device for the stopping of a sudden leake in a ship under water, without board, when a man cannot come to it within boord; which was, taking a round wicker Basket, and to fill it with pieces of a Junke or Rope chopped very small, and of an inch long, and after tozed all as Oacombe; then the Basket is to bee covered with a Net, the Meshes of it being at the least two inches square, and after to be tied to a long Pike or Pole, which is to goe a crosse the Baskets mouth, and putting it under water, care is to be had to keepe the Baskets mouth towards the ships side: if the leake bee any thing great, the Oacombe may bee somewhat longer, and it carrieth likelihood to doe good, and seemeth to bee better then the stitching of a Bonnet; or any other diligence, which as yet I have seene. Another thing I noted of these ships, which would be also used by us; that every ship carrieth with her a spare Rudder, and they have them to hang and unhang with great facilitie: and besides, in some part of the ship, they have the length, breadth, and proportion of the Rudder marked out, for any mischance that may befall them; which is a very good prevention.

A new devise for stopping a leake without boord.

Spare Rudders and to take off at pleasure.

Ten leagues to the Northwards of this Harbour, is the Bay of Quintera, where is good anchoring, but an open Bay; where Master Thomas Candish (for the good hee had done to a Spaniard, in bringing him out of the Straits of Magellan, where, otherwise, hee had perished with his company) was by him betrayed, and

Bay of Quintera.

Ingratitude punished. a doozen of his men taken and slaine: But the judgement of God left not his ingratitude unpunished; for, in the fight with us, in the Vice-admirall, he was wounded and maymed in that manner, as three yeeres after, I saw him begge with crutches, and in that miserable estate, as he had beene better dead, then alive.

Coquimbo. From Balparizo, wee sayled directly to Coquinbo, which is in thirtie degrees, and comming thwart the place, we were becalmed, and had sight of a ship: but for that she was farre off, and night at hand, she got from us, and we having winde entred the Port, thinking to have had some shipping in it; but we lost our labour: and for that the Towne was halfe a league up in the Countrey, and we not manned for any matter of attempt, worthy prosecution, we made no abode on the shoare; but presently set sayle for the Peru. This is the best Harbour that I have seene in the South Sea, it is land-locked for all winds, and capeable of many shippes; but the ordinary place where the ships lade, and unlade, and accommodate themselves, is betwixt a Rocke, and the Mayne on the Wester side, some halfe a league up within the entrance of the Port, which lieth South, and South and by East, and North and by West. In the in-countrie, directly over the Port, is a round piked hill, like a Sugar loafe, and before the entrance on the Southerne point of the Port comming in, out of the Sea, is a great Rocke, a good birth from the shoare; and these are the markes of the Port, as I remember.

Excellent harbour.

[IV. vii. 1395.]

Being cleare of this Port, we shaped our course for Arica, and left the Kingdomes of Chily, one of the best Countries that the Sun shineth on: for it is of a temperate climate, and abounding in all things necessarie for the use of man, with infinite rich Mynes of Gold, Copper, and sundry other mettals. The poorest houses in it, by report of their Inhabitants, have of their owne store, Bread, Wine, Flesh, and Fruit; which is so plentifull, that of their superfluitie they supplie other parts: sundrie kindes of cattell; as Horses, Goates, and

Arica in Chily, much commended.

For all sorts of fruits.

Oxen brought thither by the Spaniards, are found in heards of thousands, wilde, and without owner; besides those of the Countrie which are common to most parts of America: in some of which are found the Bezar stones, and those very good and great.

Amongst others they have little beasts, like unto a Squirrell, but that hee is grey, his skinne is the most delicate soft, and curious Furre that I have seene of much estimation, (as is reason) in the Peru; few of them come into Spaine, because difficult to be come by, for that the Princes and Nobles lay waite for them, they call this beast Chinchilla, and of them they have great abundance. All fruits of Spaine, they have in great plentie, saving stone fruit, and Almonds: for in no part of the Indies, have I knowne, that Plummes, Cherries, or Almonds have borne fruit: but they have certaine little round Cocos, as those of Brasill, of the bignesse of a Wall-nut, which is as good as an Almond: besides, it hath most of the fruits naturall to America. The Gold they gather, is in two manners; the one is washing the earth in great Trayes of wood in many waters; as the earth wasteth away, the Gold in the bottome remayneth. The other is, by force of Art, to draw it out of the Mynes, in which they finde it. In most parts of the Countrie, the earth is mingled with Gold; for the Butizias (in which the Wine was) which wee found in Balpharizo, had many sparkes of Gold shining in them. Of it the Gold-smiths I carried with me (for like purposes) made experience.

Chinchilla a rare beast.

Little Cocos.

And plentie of Gold.

When Baldivia and Arawca were peaceable, they yeelded greatest plentie, and the best: but now, their greatest Mynes are in Coquinbo; as also the Mynes of Copper, which they carrie to the Peru, and sell it better cheape, then it is ordinarily sold in Spaine. The Indians knowing the end of the Spaniards molestation, to be principally the desire of their riches, have enacted, that no man, upon paine of death, doe gather any Gold. In Coquinbo it raineth seldome, but every

The Indians forbid the search of gold.

Every showre, a showre of gold.

showre of raine, is a showre of Gold unto them; for with the violence of the water falling from the Mountaines, it bringeth from them the Gold: and besides, gives them water to wash it out, as also for their ingenious to worke; so that ordinarily every weeke they have Processions for raine.

Linnen and woollen cloth made in Coquinbo.

In this Kingdome they make much linnen and woollen Cloth, and great store of Indian Mantles, with which they furnish other parts, but all is coarse stuffe. It hath no Silke, nor Iron, except in Mynes, and those as yet not discovered. Pewter is well esteemed, and so are fine linnen, woollen cloth, Haberdashers wares, edge-tooles and Armes, or Munition. It hath his Governour, and Audiencia, with two Bishops: the one of Saint Iago, the other of the Imperiall; all under the Vice-roy, Audiencia, and Primate of Lyma. Saint Iago is the Metropolitan and Head of the Kingdome, and the seate of Justice, which hath his appellation of Lyma.

The valour of the Arawacans.

The people are industrious and ingenious, of great strength, and invincible courage; as in the warres, which they have sustained above fortie yeeres continually against the Spaniards, hath beene experienced. For confirmation whereof, I will alledge onely two proofes of many; the one was of an Indian Captaine, taken prisoner by the Spaniards; and for that, hee was of name and knowne to have done his devoire against them, they cut off his hands, thereby intending to disenable him to fight any more against them: but he returning home, desirous to revenge this injurie, to maintain his liberty, with the reputation of his nation, and to helpe to banish the Span. with his tongue intreated & incited them to persevere in their accustomed valor and reputation abasing the enemie, and advancing his Nation; condemning their contraries cowardlinesse, and confirming it by the cruelty used with him, and others his companions in their mishaps; shewing them his armes without hands, & naming his brethren, whose halfe feet they had cut off, because they might be unable to sit on horsebacke

with force, arguing, that if they feared them not, they would not have used so great inhumanitie; for feare produceth crueltie, the companion of cowardise. Thus encouraged he them to fight for their lives, limbes, and libertie, choosing rather to die an honourable death fighting, then to live in servitude, as fruitlesse members in their Common-wealth. Thus, using the office of a Sergeant Major, and having loden his two stumpes with bundles of Arrowes, succoured those, who in the succeeding battell had their store wasted, and changing himselfe from place to place, animated and encouraged his Countri-men, with such comfortable perswasions, as it is reported, and credibly beleeved, that hee did much more good with his words, and presence, without striking a stroke, then a great part of the Armie did with fighting to the utmost. [IV. vii. 1396.]

The other proofe is, that such of them as fight on horsebacke, are but slightly armed, for that their Armour is a Beasts hide, fitted to their body, greene, and after worne till it be drie and hard. He that is best armed, hath him double: yet any one of them with these Armes, and with his Launce, will fight hand to hand with any Spaniard armed from head to foot. And it is credibly reported, that an Indian being wounded through the bodie by a Spaniards Launce, with his own hands hath crept on upon the Launce, and come to grapple with his Adversarie, and both fallen to the ground together. By which is seene their resolution and invincible courage, and the desire they have to maintayne their reputation and libertie.

The mischiefe of corrupt or scantie provisions.

This let me manifest, that there have beene and are certaine persons, who before they goe to Sea, either robbe part of the provisions, or in the buying, make penurious, unwholsome, and avaritious penieworths; and the last I hold to be the least; for they robbe onely the Victuallers and owners, but the others steale from owners, victuallers, and companie, and are many times the onely overthrowers of the Voyage, for the companie

thinking themselves to be stored with foure or sixe moneths Victuals, upon survay, they finde their Bread, Beefe or Drinke short; yea, perhaps all, and so are forced to seeke home in time of best hopes and employment. This mischiefe is most ordinarie in great actions. Lastly, some are so cunning, that they not onely make their Voyage by robbing before they goe to Sea, but of that also which commeth home. Such Gamesters, a wise man of our Nation resembled to the Mill on the River of Thames, for grinding both with floud and ebbe: So, these at their going out, and comming home, will be sure to robbe all others of their shares.

Of detayning and defrauding of wages.

But the greatest and most principall robberie of all, in my opinion, is the defrauding or the detayning of the Companies thirds or wages, accursed by the just God, who forbiddeth the hire of the labourer to sleep with us. To such I speake, as either abuse themselves in detayning it; or else to such as force the poore man to sell it at vile and lowe prices: And lastly, to such as upon fained cavils and suits, doe deterre the simple and ignorant sort from their due prosecutions: which being too much in use amongst us, hath bred in those that follow the Sea a jealousie in all employments, and many times causeth mutinies and infinite inconveniences. To prevent this, a Chest with three lockes was appointed: I kept one, the Master another, the third one chosen by the Companie.

Of Mariners by challenge of Pillage.

No lesse worthie reformation are the generall abuses of Mariners and Souldiers, who robbe all they can, under the colour of Pillage, and after make Ordnance, Cables, Sayles, Anchors, and all above Deckes to belong unto them of right, whether they goe by thirds or wages: this proceedeth from those pilfering warres, wherein every Gallant that can arme out a Ship, taketh upon him the name and office of a Captaine, not knowing what to command, or what to execute. Such Commanders for the most part comfort and joyne unto themselves disorderly persons, Pirates, and Ruffians,

under the title of men of valour and experience: they meeting with any Prize, make all upon the Deckes theirs of dutie, &c.

The lawes of Oleron, concerning Pillage.

In the time of warre in our Countrie, as also in others, by the lawes of Oleron (which to our ancient Sea-men were fundamentall) nothing is allowed for Pillage but Apparell, Armes, Instruments, and other necessaries belonging to the persons, in that ship which is taken: and these to, when the ship is gained by dint of sword; with a proviso, that if any particular Pillage, exceed the value of sixe crownes, it may be redeemed for that value, by the generall stocke, and sold for the common benefit. If the prize render it selfe without forcible entrie, all in generall ought to be preserved and sold in masse, and so equally divided; yea, though the ship be wonne by force and entrie, yet whatsoever belongeth to her of takling, Sayles, or Ordnance, is to be preserved for the generalitie: saying a Peece of Artillerrie for the Captaine; another for the Gunner, and a Cable and Anchor for the Master, which are the rights due unto them; and these to be delivered, when the ship is in safety, and in harbour, either unloden or sold: which Law or Custome well considered, will rise to be more beneficiall for the Owners, Victuallers, and Companie, then the disorders newly crept in and before remembred. For the Sayles, Cables, Anchors, and Hull, being sold (every one apart) yeeld not the one halfe which they would doe if they were sold all together, besides the excusing of charges, and robberies in the unloding and parting.

In the warres of France, in the time of Queene Marie, and in other warres (as I have heard of many ancient Captaines) the Companie had but the fourth part, and every man bound to bring with him the Armes, with which he would fight: which in our time, I have knowne also used in France: and if the Companie victualed themselves, they had then the one halfe, and the Owners the other halfe for the ship, powder, shot,

and munition. If any Prize were taken, it was sold by the tunne, ship and goods, so as the loading permitted it; that the Merchant having bought the goods, hee might presently transport them whithersoever he would: By this manner of proceeding, all rested contented, all being truly payd; for this was just dealing, if any deserved reward, he was recompenced out of the generall stocke. If any one had filched or stolne, or committed offence, he had likewise his desert: and who once was knowne to be a disordered person, or a thiefe, no man would receive him into his ship: whereas now a dayes many vaunt themselves of their thefts and disorders; yea, I have seene the common sort of Mariners, under the name of pillage, maintaine and justifie their robberies most insolently, before the Queens Majesties Commissioners, with arrogant and unseemly termes. Opinion hath held such for tall fellowes, when in truth, they never prove the best men in difficult occasions. For their mindes are all set on spoyle, and can be well contented to suffer their associates to beare the brunt, whilest they are prolling after pillage, the better to gaine and maintaine the aforesaid attributes, in Tavernes, and disorderly places. For the orderly and quiet men, I have ever found in all occasions to be of best use, most valiant, and of greatest sufficiency. Yet I condemne none: but those who will be reputed valiant, and are not, examine the accusation. All whatsoever is found upon the Decke, going for Merchandise, is exempted out of the censure of pillage; Silkes, Linnen, or Woollen cloth in whole pieces, Apparell, that goeth to be sold, or other goods whatsoever (though they be in remnants) manifestly knowne to bee carried for that end; or being comprehended in the Register, or Bills of lading, are not to be contayned under the name of Pillage.

[IV. vii. 1397.]

Note or brand rather for tal-tongued-fingred fellowes.

What ought to be reputed pillage.

Against the disloyalties of Captaines.

But as I have said of the consort, so can I not but complaine of many Captaines and Governours, who overcome with like greedy desire of gaine, condiscend

to the smothering and suppressing of this ancient discipline, the cleanlier to smother their owne disloyalties, in suffering these breake-bulkes to escape, and absent themselves, till the heate be past, and partition made. Some of these cause the Bills of lading to be cast into the Sea, or so to be hidden, that they never appeare. Others send away their prisoners, who sometimes are more worth then the ship and her lading, because they should not discover their secret stolne treasure: for many times, that which is left out of the Register or Bills of lading (with purpose to defraud the Prince of his Customes (in their conceits, held to be excessive) is of much more value, then that which the ship and lading is worth. Yea, I have knowne ships worth two hundred thousand pounds, and better, cleane swept of their principall riches, nothing but the bare bulke being left unsacked. The like may be spoken, of that which the disorderly Mariner, and the Souldier termeth Pillage.

Concealment; of much more value, then the Trading.

My Father, Sir John Hawkins, in his instructions, in actions under his charge, had this particular Article: That whosoever rendred, or tooke any ship, should be bound to exhibite the Bills of lading; to keepe the Captaine, Master, Merchants, and persons of account, and to bring them to him to be examined, or into England: If they should bee by any accident separated from him, whatsoever was found wanting (the prisoners being examined) was to be made good by the Captaine and Companie, which tooke the ship, and this upon great punishments.

The prevention of undue pillagings.

Running alongst the coast, till wee came within few leagues of Arica, nothing happened unto us of extraordinarie noveltie or moment, for wee had the Breze favourable, which seldome happeneth in this climate, finding our selves in 19. degrees, wee haled the shoare close aboord, purposing to see, if there were any shipping in the Road of Arica. It standeth in a great large Bay, in 18. degrees: and before you come to it, a league to the Southwards of the Road and Towne, is a great round Hill, higher then the rest of the land of the Bay, neere

Arica.

about the Towne: which we having discovered, had sight presently of a small Barque, close aboord the shoare becalmed; manning our Boat, wee tooke her, being loden with fish from Moormereno; which is a goodly head-land, very high, and lieth betwixt 24. and 25. degrees, and whether ordinarily some Barques use to goe a fishing every yeere.

Moormereno.

In her was a Spaniard and sixe Indians; The Spaniard, for that he was neere the shoare, swam unto the Rockes, and though we offered to returne him his barke, and fish (as was our meaning) yet he refused to accept it, and made us answere, that he durst not, for feare lest the Justice should punish him. In so great subjection are the poore unto those who have the administration of Justice in those parts, and in most parts of the Kingdomes and Countries subject to Spaine. Insomuch, that to heare the Justice to enter in at their doores, is to them destruction and desolation: for this cause wee carried her alongst with us. In this meane while, wee had sight of another tall ship, comming out of the Sea, which wee gave chase unto, but could not fetch up, being too good of sayle for us. Our small Prize and Boate standing off unto us, descried another shippe, which they chased and tooke also, loden with fish, comming from the Ilands of Juan Fernandes.

The severitie of Spaine.

After we opened the Bay and Port of Arica, but seeing it cleane without shipping, wee haled the coast alongst, and going aboord to visite the bigger Prize, my Companie saluted mee with a vollie of small shot. Amongst them one Musket brake, and carried away the hand of him that shot it, through his owne default, which for that I have seene to happen many times, I thinke it necessary to note in this place, that others may take warning by his harme. The cause of the Muskets breaking, was the charging with two bullets, the powder being ordayned to carrie but the weight of one, and the Musket not to suffer two charges, of powder or shot. By this oversight, the fire is restrained with the overplus of the weight of shot, and not

Overcharging of Artilleries.

being able to force both of them out, breaketh all to pieces, so to finde a way to its owne Centre.

And I am of opinion, that it is a great errour, to prove great Ordnance, or small shot, with double charges of powder, or shot; my reason is, for that ordinarily the mettall is proportioned to the waight of the shot, which the Peece is to beare, and the powder correspondent to the waight of the bullet: and this being granted, I see no reason why any man should require to prove his peece with more, then is belonging to it of right: for I have seene many goodly peeces broken with such trials, being cleane without hony combes, cracke, flawe, or other perceavable blemish, which no doubt, with their ordinary allowance would have served many yeares. If I should make choice for my selfe, I would not willingly, that any peece should come into Fort, or ship (under my charge) which had borne at any time more then his ordinary allowance, misdoubting, least through the violence of the double charge, the Peece may be crased within, or so forced, as at another occasion, with his ordinary allowance he might breake in peeces: how many men so many mindes: for to others, this may seeme harsh, for that the contrary custome hath so long time beene received, and therefore I submit to better experience, and contradict not but that in a demy culvering, a man may put two Saker or Minion shots, or many of smaller waight: and so in a Musket, two Caliever shot, or many smaller, so they exceede not the ordinary waight, prescribed by proportion, art, and experience. [IV. vii. 1398.]

Having visited our prizes, and finding in them nothing but fish, we tooke a small portion for our victualling, and gave the bigger Ship to the Spaniards againe, and the lesser wee kept with purpose to make her our Pinnace. The Indians (which we tooke in her) would by no meanes depart from us, but desired to goe with us for England, saying that the Indian and English were brothers; and in all places where wee came, they shewed themselves much affectionated unto us. These were Natives of More- *The amity of the Indians.*

Their rude manners and expert swimming.

moreno, and the most brutish of all that ever I had seene: and except it were in forme of men and speech, they seemed altogether voide of that which appertained to reasonable men. They were expert swimmers, but after the manner of Spaniels, they dive, and abide under water a long time, and swallow the water of the Sea, as if it were of a fresh River, except a man see them, he would hardly beleeve how they continue in the Sea, as if they were Mermaides, and the water their naturall Element. Their Countrie is most barren, and poore of foode: if they take a fish alive out of the Sea, or meete with a peece of salted fish, they will devoure it without any dressing, as savourly as if it had beene most curiously sodden or dressed, all which makes me beleeve, that they sustaine themselves of that which they catch in the Sea. The Spaniards profit themselves of their labour and travell, and recompence them badly, they are in worse condition then their slaves, for to those they give sustenance, house-roome, and cloth-ing, and teach them the knowledge of God; but the other they use as beasts, to doe their labour without wages, or care of their bodies or soules.

§. V.

The Viceroy sends an Armado against the English; which vieweth them and returneth: is againe set forth: their fight; the English yeelde upon composition: Divers martiall discourses.

Bay of Pisco.

Cape Sangalean.

Chilca.

BY generall accord we eased our selves of a leake prise, and continued our course alongst the coast, till we came thwart of the Bay of Pisco, which lyeth within 15. degrees and 15. minutes. Presently after we were cleare of Cape Saugalean, and his Ilands, we ranged this Bay with our Boate and Pinnace. It hath two small Ilands in it, but without fruite, and being becalmed, we anchored two dayes thwart of Chilca.

Advise given by Sea and Land.

By Sea and by Land, those of Clyly had given advise to Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoca, Marquis of Cavete, Vice-roy of Peru, resident in Lima, of our being on the Coast. He presently with all possible diligence, put out six Ships in warlike order, with well neere two thousand men, and dispatched them to seeke us, and to fight with us, under the conduct of Don Beltrian de Castro Ydela-luca, his wives brother; who departing out of the Port of Callao, turned to wind-ward, in sight over the shore, from whence they had daily intelligence, where wee had beene discovered. And the next day after our departure out of Chilca, about the middle of May, at breake of day, we had sight each of other, thwart of Cavete, we being to wind-wards of the Spanish Armado, some two leagues, and all with little or no winde. Our Pinnace or prize being furnished with Oares came unto us, out of which we thought to have taken our men, and so to leave her; but being able to come unto us at all times, it was held for better, to keepe her till necessitie forced us to leave her: and so it was determined, that if we came to likelihood of boording, she should lay our Boate aboord, and enter all her men, and from thence to enter our Ship, and so to forsake her: Although by the event in that occasion, this proved good, notwithstanding I hold it to be reproved, where the enemy is farre superiour in multitude and force, and able to come and boord, if he list: and that the surest course, is to fortifie the principall, and the best that may be, and to cut off all impediments, where a man is forced to defence; for that no man is assured to have time answerable to his purpose and will, and upon doubt whether the others in hope to save themselves, will not leave him in greatest extremitie.

We presently put our selves in the best order we could, to fight, and to defend our selves: our prayers we made unto the Lord God of battels, for his helpe and our deliverance, putting our selves wholly into his hands. About nine of the clocke, the Brese began to blow, and wee to stand off into the Sea, the Spaniards cheeke by jole

with us, ever getting to the wind-wards upon us; for that the shipping of the South Sea, is ever moulded sharpe under water, and long; all their voyages depending upon turning to wind-wards, and the Brese blowing ever Southerly. [IV. vii. 1399.]

As the Sunne began to mount aloft, the winde began to fresh: which together with the rowling Sea, that ever beateth upon this coast, comming out of the westerne-bourd, caused a chapping Sea, wherewith the Admirall of the Spaniards snapt his maine Mast asunder, and so began to lagge a sterne, and with him, other two Ships. The Vice-admirall split her maine-saile, being come within shot of us upon our broad side, but to lee-wards: the Reare-admirall cracked her maine-yard asunder in the middest, being a head of us: one of the Armado, which had gotten upon the broad side of us, to wind-wards, durst not assault us.

With these disgraces upon them, and the hand of God helping and delivering us, night comming, we began to consult what course was best to be taken, to free our selves; wherein were divers opinions: some said it was best to stand off to the Sea close by, all the night: others to lye it a hull: others to cast about to the shoare-wards two glasses, and after all the night to stand off to Sea close by. The Admirall of the Spaniards with the other two were a sterne of us, some foure leagues: the Vice-admirall a mile right to lee-wards of us: the Reare-admirall in a manner right a head, some culvering shot; and one upon our loofe, within shot also, the Moone was to rise within two houres. After much debating, it was concluded, that we should beare up before the winde, and seeke to escape betwixt the Admirall and the Vice-admirall, which we put in execution, not knowing of any other disgrace befallen them, but that of the Reare-admirall: till after our surrender, when they recounted unto us all that had past. In the morning at breake of day, we were cleare of all our Enemies, and so shaped our course alongst the Coast, for the Bay of Atacames, where we purposed to trim our Pinnace, and to renew our wood

and water, and so to depart upon our Voyage with all possible speede.

Returne of the Spanish Armado.

The Spanish Armado, returned presently to Callao, which is the Port of Lyma, or of the Citie of the Kings. It was first named Lyma, and retaineth also that name of the River, which passeth by the Citie called Lyma, the Spanish Armado being entred the Port, the people began to goe ashore, where they were so mocked and scorned by the women, as scarce any one by day would shew his face, they reviled them with the name of cowards and golnias, and craved licence of the Vice-roy to be admitted into their roomes, and to undertake the surrendry of the English Shippe. I have beene certified for truth, that some of them affronted their Souldiers with Daggers and Pistols by their sides. This wrought such effects in the hearts of the disgraced, as they vowed either to recover their reputation lost, or to follow us into England, and so with expedition, the Vice-roy commanded two Shippes and a Pinnace to be put in order, and in them placed the chiefe Souldiers and Marriners of the rest, and furnished them with victuals and munition.

Scoffed at.

They set forth the second time.

The foresaid Generall is once againe dispatched to seeke us; who ranged the Coasts and Ports, enforming himselfe what he could: Some fiftie leagues to the North-wards of Lyma, in sight of Mongon, we tooke a Ship halfe loaden with Wheate, Sugar, Miell de Canas, and Cordovan skins: which for that she was leake, and sailed badly, and tackled in such manner (as the Marriners would not willingly put themselves into her) we tooke what was necessary for our provision, and fired her. Thwart of Truxillo, wee set the company of her ashoare, with the Pilot which we had taken in Balparizo, reserving the Pilot of the burnt Shippe, and a Greeke, who chose rather to continue with us, then to hazard their lives in going ashore; for that they had departed out of the Port of Santa (which is in eight degrees) being required by the Justice not to weigh anchor before the Coast was knowne to be cleare.

Few men man a Ship in the South Sea.

It is a thing worthy to be noted, and almost incredible, with how few men they use to saile a Shippe in the South Sea, for in this prise, which was above an hundred tunnes, were but eight persons: and in a Ship of three hundreth tuns, they use not to put above foureteene or fifteene persons: yea I have beene credibly enformed, that with foureteene persons, a Ship of five hundred tuns hath beene carried from Guayaquil to Lyma, deepe loaden: which is above two hundred leagues. They are forced ever to gaine their Voyage by turning to wind-wards, which is the greatest toyle and labour that the Marriners have; and show sometimes in this Voyage foure or five moneths, which is generall in all the Navigations of this coast: but the security from stormes, and certainty of the Brese (with the desire to make their gaine the greater) is the cause that every man forceth himselfe to the uttermost, to doe the labour of two men.

Port of Santa.

Plantation of the Ilands of Salomon.

In the height of the Port of Santa, some seven hundred and fiftie leagues to the West-wards, lye the Ilands of Salomon, of late yeares discovered. At my being in Lyma, a Fleete of foure saile was sent from thence to people them; which through the emulation and discord that arose amongst them, being landed and setled in the Countrey, was utterly overthrowne, onely one Shippe, with some few of the people, after much misery, got to the Philippines. This I came to the knowledge of, by a large relation written from a person of credit, and sent from the Philippines to Panama: I saw it at my being there, in my voyage towards Spaine. Having edged neere the coast, to put the Spaniards on shore, a thicke fogge tooke us, so that we could not see the land; but recovering our Pinnace and Boate, we sailed on our course, till wee came thwart of the Port called Malabrigo. It lieth in seven degrees.

Malabrigo.

[IV. vii. 1400.]

Current.

In all this Coast the currant runneth with great force, but never keepeth any certaine course, saving that it runneth alongst the coast, sometimes to the South-wards, sometimes to the North-wards, which now runneth to the

North-wards, forced us so farre into the Bay (which a point of the land causeth, that they call Punta de Augussa) as thinking to cleare our selves by roving North-west, we could not double this point, making our way North North-west. Therefore speciall care is ever to be had of the current: and doubtlesse, if the providence of Almighty God had not freede us, we had runne ashore upon the Land, without seeing or suspecting any such danger; his name be ever exalted and magnified, for delivering us from the unknowne danger, by calming the winde all night: the Suns rising manifested unto us our errour and perill, by discovering unto us the land within two leagues right a head. The current had carried us without any winde, at the least foure leagues: which seene, and the winde beginning to blow, we brought our tackes aboord, and in short time cleared our selves. *Punta de Augussa.*

Thwart of this point of Augussa, lye two desert Ilands; they call them Illas de Lobos, for the multitude of Seales, which accustome to haunt the shore. In the bigger is very good harbour, and secure: they lye in six degrees and thirty minutes. The next day after we lost sight of those Ilands, being thwart of Payta, which lyeth in five degrees, and having manned our Pinnace and Boate to search the Port, we had sight of a tall Ship, which having knowledge of our being on the coast, and thinking her selfe to be more safe at Sea, then in the harbour, put her selfe then under saile: to her we gave chase all that night, and the next day; but in fine, being better of saile then we, she freed her selfe. Thus being to lee-ward of the Harbour, and discovered, we continued our course alongst the shore. That evening, wee were thwart of the River of Guyayaquill, which hath in the mouth of it two Ilands: the Souther-most and biggest, called Puma, in three degrees; and the other to the North-wards, Santa clara. *Point of Augussa.* *Illas de Lobos.*

Puma is inhabited, and is the place where they build their principall shipping: from this River, Lima and all the valleyes are furnished with Timber, for they have none *Puma.*

but that which is brought from hence, or from the Kingdome of Chile. By this River passeth the principall trade of the Kingdome of Quito; it is Navigable some leagues into the Land, and hath great abundance of Timber.

Those of the Peru, use to ground and trim their Shippes in Puma, or in Panama, and in all other parts they are forced to carene their Shippes. In Puma it higheth and falleth, fifteene or sixteene foote water, and from this Iland, till a man come to Panama, in all the coast it ebbeth and floweth more or lesse; keeping the ordinary course, which the Tides doe in all Seas. The water of this River, by experience, is medicinable, for all aches of the bones, for the stone and strangurie: the reason which is given, is, because all the bankes and low land adjoyning to this River, are replenished with Salsaperillia: which lying for the most part soaking in the water, it participateth of this vertue, and giveth it this force. In this River, and all the Rivers of this coast, are great abundance of Alagartoes; and it is said that this exceedeth the rest, for persons of credit have certified me, that as small fishes in other Rivers abound in scoales, so the Alagartoes in this; they doe much hurt to the Indians and Spaniards, and are dreadfull to all whom they catch within their clutches.

Medicinable River.

Scoales of Crocodiles.

Some five or six leagues to the North-wards of Puma, is la Punta de Santa Elena; under which is good anchoring, cleane ground, and reasonable succour. Being thwart of this point, wee had sight of a Shippe, which wee chased, but being of better saile then wee, and the night comming on, we lost sight of her; and so anchored under the Isla de Plata; to recover our Pinnace and Boate, which had gone about the other point of the Iland, which lyeth in two degrees, and fortie minutes. The next day we past in sight of Puerto Vicjo, in two degrees ten minutes; which lying without shipping, we directed our course for Cape Passaos. It lyeth directly under the Equinoctiall line; some fourescore leagues to the West-wards of this Cape, lyeth a heape of Ilands, the Spaniards

P. de S. Elena.

Puerto vicjo.

call Illas de los Galapagos; they are desert and beare no fruite: from Cape Passaos, we directed our course to Cape Saint Francisco, which lyeth in one degree to the North-wards of the line: and being thwart of it, we descried a small Shippe, which we chased all that day and night, and the next morning our Pinnace came to bourd her; but being a Ship of advise, and full of passengers, and our Ship not able to fetch her up, they entreated our people badly, and freed themselves, though the feare they conceived, caused them to cast all the dispatches of the King, as also of particulars into the Sea, with a great part of their loading, to be lighter and better of saile, for the Ships of the South Sea loade themselves like lighters or sand barges, presuming upon the securitie from stormes.

Being out of hope to fetch up this Shippe, we stood in with the Cape, where the Land beginneth to trend about to the East-wards. The Cape is high land, and all covered over with trees, and so is the land over the Cape, and all the coast (from this Cape to Panama) is full of wood, from the Straits of Magelan, to this Cape of San Francisco. In all the coast from head-land to head-land, the courses lye betwixt the North and North and by West, and sometimes more Westerly, and that but seldome: It is a bold coast, and subject to little foule weather, or alteration of windes, for the Brese, which is the Southerly winde, bloweth continually from Balparizo to Cape San Francisco, except it be a great chance. Trending about the Cape, wee haled in East North-east, to fetch the Bay of Atacames, which lyeth some seven leagues from the Cape. In the mid way (some three leagues from the shore) lyeth a banke of sand, whereof a man must have a care; for in some parts of it there is but little water. [IV. vii. 1401.]

Bay of Atacames.

The tenth of June we came to an anchor in the Bay of Atacames, which on the Wester part hath a round hammock. It seemeth an Iland, & in high Springs, I judge, that the Sea goeth round about it. To the East-wards it hath a high sandie Cliffe, and in the middest of the Bay, a faire birth, from the shoare lieth a bigge

blacke Rocke above water: from this Rocke to the sandy Cliffe, is a drowned Marsh ground, caused by his lownesse; And a great River, which is broad but of no depth.

Manning our Boate, and running to the shoare, wee found presently in the Westerne bight of the Bay, a deepe River, whose Indraught was so great, that we could not benefit our selves of it, being brackish, except at a low water; which hindred our dispatch, yet in five dayes, wee filled all our emptie Caske, supplied our want of wood, and grounded and put in order our Pinnasse.

They dismisse their Indians. Here, for that our Indians served us to no other use, but to consume our victuals, we eased our selves of them; gave them Hookes and Lines which they craved, and some bread for a few dayes, and replanted them in a farre better Countrey, then their owne, which fell out luckily for the Spaniards of the Shippe which wee chased thwart of Cape San Francisco; for victuals growing short with her, having many mouthes, shee was forced to put ashoare fifty of her passengers, neere the Cape; whereof more then the one halfe died with famine, and continuall wading through Rivers and waters: the rest (by chance) meeting with the Indians, which we had put ashore, with their fishing, guide, and industry were refreshed, sustained, and brought to habitation.

Distresse of Spaniards.

Occasion of their ruine. Our necessary businesse being ended, we purposed the fifteenth day of June, in the morning, to set saile, but the foureteenth in the evening, we had sight of a Shippe, some three leagues to Sea-wards; and through the importunitie of my Captaine and Companie, I condiscended that our Pinnace should give her chase, which I should not have done, for it was our destruction; I gave them precise order, that if they stood not in againe at night, they should seeke me at Cape San Francisco, for the next morning I purposed to set sayle without delay, and so seeing that our Pinnace slowed her comming, at nine of the clocke in the morning, we waied our Anchors, and stood for the Cape; where we beate off and on two

dayes: and our Pinnace not appearing, wee stood againe into the Bay, where we descried her, turning in without a maine Mast, which standing off to the Sea, close by, with much winde and a chapping Sea, bearing a taut-sayle, where a little was too much (being to small purpose) sodainely they bare it by the bourd; and standing in with the shore, the winde, or rather God blinding them for our punishment, they knew not the land; and making themselves to be to wind-wards of the Bay, bare up and were put into the Bay of San Mathew: It is a goodly harbour, and hath a great fresh River, which higheth fifteene or sixteene foote water, and is a good Countrey, and well peopled with Indians; they have store of Gold and Emeralds. Here the Spaniards from Guayaquill made an habitation, whilst I was prisoner in Lyma, by the Indians consent; but after not able to suffer the insolencies of their guests, and being a people of stomacke and presumption, they suffered themselves to bee perswaded and led by a Molato. This leader many yeares before had fled unto them from the Spaniards, him they had long time held in reputation of their Captaine Generall, and was admitted also unto a chiefe Office by the Spaniards, to gaine him unto them. But now the Indians uniting themselves together, presuming that by the helpe of this Molato they should force the Spaniards out of the Countrey; put their resolution in execution, drove their enemies into the woods, and slew as many as they could lay hands on, few escaped with life; and those who had that good hap, suffered extreame misery before they came to Quito; the place of neerest habitation of Spaniards.

A taut-saile is that which proportionably is to high for the vessell.

Bay of S. Mathew.

The Indians led by a Molato Chase the Spaniards.

To this Bay, as soone as our people in the Pinnace saw their errour, they brought their tackes aboord, and turned and tyded it up, as they could. Assoone as we came to Anchor, I procured to remedy that was amisse; in two dayes we dispatched all we had to doe, and the next morning we resolved to set sayle and to leave the coast of Peru and Quito. The day appearing, we began to

weigh our Anchors, and being a Pike ready to cut sayle, one out of the top descried the Spanish Armado, comming about the Cape: which by the course it kept, presently gave us to understand, who they were: though my company (as is the custome of Sea men) made them to be the Fleete bound for Panama, loaden with treasure, and importuned that in all haste wee should cut sayle and stand with them, which I contradicted, for that I was assured that no Shipping would stirre upon the coast, till they had securitie of our departure (except some Armado that might be sent to seeke us) and that it was not the time of the yeare to carry the treasure to Panama. And besides, in riding still at an Anchor, they ever came neerer unto us, for they stood directly with us, and we kept the weather gage; where if wee had put our selves under sayle (the ebbe in hand) we should have given them the advantage, which we had in our power, by reason of the point of the Bay. And being the Armado (as it was) we gained time to fit our selves, the better to fight. And truly (as before, to a stiffe-necked Horse) so now againe, I cannot but resemble the condition of the Mariner to any thing better, then to the current of a furious River, repressed by force or Arte, which neverthelesse ceasseth not to seeke a way to overthrowe both fence and banke: Even so the common sort of Sea-men, apprehending a conceit in their imaginations, neither experiment, knowledge, examples, reasons nor authoritie, can alter or remove them from their conceited opinions. In this extremitie, with reason I laboured to convince them, and to contradict their pretences: but they altogether without reason, or against reason, breake out, some into vaunting and bragging, some into reproaches of want of courage, others into wishings, that they had never come out of their Countrie, if wee should refuse to fight with two ships whatsoever. And to mend the matter, the Gunner (for his part) assured me that with the first tire of shot, he would lay the one of them in the suds: And our Pinnace, that she would take the other to taske. One

Spanish Armado.

[IV. vii. 1402.]

Pride and unrulinesse forerunners of ruine.

The unadvised courage of the multitude.

promised, that he would cut downe the Maine-yard, another that hee would take their Flagge; and all in generall shewed a great desire to come to triall with the Enemie. To some I turned the deafe eare, with others I dissembled, and armed my selfe with patience (having no other defence nor remedie for that occasion) soothing and animating them to the execution of what they promised, and perswaded them to have a little sufferance, seeing they gained time and advantage by it. And to give them better satisfaction I condiscended, that our Captaine with a competent number of men, should with our Pinnace goe to discover them; with order, that they should not engage themselves in that manner, as they might not bee able to come unto us, or we to succour them. In all these divisions and opinions, our Master, Hugh Dormish, (who was a most sufficient man for government and valour, and well saw the errours of the multitude) used his office, as became him; and so did all those of best understanding.

In short space, our Pinnace discovered what they were, and casting about to returne unto us, the Vice-admirall (being next her) began with her chase to salute her with three or foure Peeces of Artilerie, and so continued chasing her, and gunning at her. My Companie seeing this, now began to change humour: And I then, to encourage and perswade them to performe the execution of their promises and vaunts of valour, which they had but even now protested, and given assurance of, by their profers and forwardnesse. And that we might have Sea-roome to fight, we presently weighed Anchor, and stood off to Sea with all our sayles, in hope to get the weather gage of our contraries. But the winde scanting with us, and larging with them, we were forced to lee-ward. And the Admirall weathering us, came roome upon us: which being within Musket shot, wee hailed first with our noise of Trumpets, then with our Waytes, and after with our Artilerie: which they answered with Artilerie, two for one. For they had double the Ordnance we had, and

The beginning of the fight.

The inexperience of the Spaniards, and of the English Gunner.

almost ten men for one. Immediatly they came shoaring aboord of us, upon our lee quarter contrarie to our expectation; and the custome of men of Warre. And doubtlesse, had our Gunner beene the man hee was reputed to be, and as the world sold him to me, shee had received great hurt by that manner of boording: But contrarie to all expectation, our stearne Peeces were unprimed, and so were all those which we had to lee-ward (save halfe one in the quarter) which discharged wrought that effect in our contraries, as that they had five or sixe foot water in hold, before they suspected it.

And carelesnesse of the English.

How farre a Commander is to trust his officers.

Hereby all men are to take warning by me, not to trust any man in such extremities, when he himselfe may see it done: and comming to fight, let the Chieftaine himselfe bee sure to have all his Artilerie in a readinesse, upon all occasions. This was my oversight, this my overthrow. For I, and all my Companie, had that satisfaction of the sufficiency and care of our Gunner, as not any one of us ever imagined there would be any defect found in him. For my part, I with the rest of our Officers, occupied our selves in clearing our Deckes, lacing our Nettings, making of Bulwarkes, arming our Toppes, fitting our Wast-clothes, tallowing our Pikes, slinging our Yards, doubling our Sheetes and Tackes, placing and ordering our People, and procuring that they should be well fitted and provided of all things; leaving the Artilerie, and other Instruments of fire, to the Gunners dispose and order, with the rest of his Mates and Adherents: which (as I said) was part of our perdition. For bearing me ever in hand, that he had five hundred Cartredges in a readinesse, within one houres fight, wee were forced to occupie three persons, onely in making and filling Cartredges, and of five hundred elles of Canvas and other Cloth given him for that purpose, at sundry times, not one yard was to be found. For this we have no excuse, and therefore could not avoide the danger, to charge and discharge with the Ladle, especially in so hot a fight. And comming now to put in execution the

sinking of the ship, as he promised, hee seemed a man without life or soule. So the Admirall comming close unto us, I my selfe, and the Master of our ship, were forced to play the Gunners.

Deceit of the Gunner, and his extreme carelesnesse, and suspicious disloyaltie.

Those Instruments of fire, wherein he made me to spend excessively (before our going to Sea) now appeared not; Neither the brasse Bals of Artificiall fire to be shot with Slurbowes (whereof I had sixe Bowes, and two hundreth Bals, which are of great account and service, either by Sea or Land) he had stowed them in such manner (though in double Barrels) as the salt water had spoyled them all; so that comming to use them, not one was serviceable. Some of our Companie had him in suspicion, to be more friend to the Spaniards, then to us; for that hee had served some yeares in the Tercea, as Gunner, and that he did all this of purpose. Few of our Peeces were cleere, when we came to use them, and some had the shot first put in, and after the powder. Besides, after our surrendry; it was laid to his charge, that he should say; he had a Brother that served the King in Peru, and that he thought he was in the Armado; and how he would not for all the world, he should be slaine. Whether this were true or no, I know not, but I am sure all in generall gave him an ill report, and that hee, in whose hands the chiefe execution of the whole fight consisted, executed nothing as was promised and expected. [IV. vii. 1403.]

Who to account a true Marriner.

It is requisite that all Captaines and Commanders were such, and so experimented in all offices, that they might be able as well to controule as to examine all manner of errors in officers. For the Government at Sea hardly suffereth a head without exquisite experience. The deficiencie whereof hath occasioned some ancient Sea-men to straighten the attribute of Marriner in such sort, as that it ought not to be given but to the man who is able to build his Ship, to fit and provide her of all things necessarie, and after to carry her about the world: residue, to be but saylers. Hereby giving us

His knowledge for Materials. to understand, that hee should know the parts and peeces of the Ship, the value of the timber, planke and Iron-worke, so to be able aswell to build in proportion, as to procure all materials at a just price. And againe, to know how to cut his sayles, what length is competent to every Roape, and to be of sufficiencie to reprehend and reforme those who erre, and doe amisse.

For provisions. In providing his Ship for victuals, munition and necessaries, of force it must be expected that he be able to make his estimate, and (that once provided and perfected) in season, and with expedition to see it loden and stowed commodiously, with care and proportion. After that, Hee is to order the spending thereof, that in nothing he be defrauded at home, and at Sea, ever to know how much is spent, and what remaineth to be spent.

For Navigation. In the Art of Navigation, he is bound also to know so much, as to be able to give directions to the Pilot & Master, and consequently to all the rest of inferior officers.

Office of the Master. In matter of guide and disposing of the Saylers, with the tackling of the Ship, and the workes which belong thereunto, within bourd and without, all is to be committed to the Masters charge.

Office of the Pilot. The Pilot is to looke carefully to the Sterridge of the Ship, to be watchfull in taking the heights of Sunne and Starre; to note the way of his Ship, with the augmenting and lessening of the winde, &c.

The Boateswaine. The Boateswaine is to see his Ship kept cleane; his Mastes, yards and tacklings well coated, matted and armed; his shrouds and staies well set; his sailes repaired, and sufficiently prevented with martnets, blayles, and caskets; his boate fitted with Sayle, Oares, thoughts, tholes danyd, windles and rother: His Anchors well boyed, safely stopped and secured,

The Steward. with the rest to him appertaining. The Steward is to see the preservation of Victuals and necessaries, committed unto his charge; and by measure and weight, to deliver the portions appointed, and with discretion and good tearmes, to give satisfaction to all. The

Carpenter is to view the mastes and yards, the sides of the Ship, her deckes and cabines; her pumpes and boate; and moreover to occupie himselfe in the most forcible workes, except he be otherwise commanded. *The Carpenter.*

The Gunner is to care for the britching and tackling of his Artillery; the fitting of his shot, Tampkins, coynes, crones and linstockes, &c. To be provident in working his fire workes, in making and filling his Cartreges; in accommodating his ladles, sponges and other necessaries; in sifting and drying his powder; in cleansing the armes, munition, and such like workes, intrusted unto him. *The Gunner.*

In this manner every officer in his office, ought to be an absolute Commander, yet ready in obedience and love, to sacrifice his will to his superiors command: This cannot but cause unitie; and unitie cannot but purchase a happie issue to dutifull travels. Lastly, except it be in urgent and precise cases, the Head should never direct his command to any, but the officers, and these secretly, except the occasion require publication; or that it touch all in generall. Such orders would be (for the most part) in writing, that all might know what in generall is commanded and required. *Directions in secret.*

The reason why the Admirall came to leewards (as after I understood) was for that her Artillery being very long, and the winde fresh, bearing a taut sayle, to fetch us up, and to keepe us company, they could not use their Ordnance to the weather of us, but lay shaking in the winde: And doubtlesse it is most proper for shippes to have short Ordnance, except in the sterne or chase. The reasons are many: viz. easier charging, ease of the Shippes side, better traversing and mounting, yea, greater securitie of the Artillery, and consequently of the Shippe. For the longer the Peece is, the greater is the retention of the fire, and so the torment and danger of the Peece the greater. But here will be contradiction by many, that dare avouch that longer Peeces are to be preferred; for that they burne their *Why the Spanish Admirall came to leewards.* *Rule for Ordnance.*

powder better, and carry the shot further, and so necessarily of better execution: whereas the short Artillery many times spends much of their powder without burning, and workes thereby the slenderer effect. To which I answere, that for Land service, Forts, or Castles, the long Peeces are to be preferred; but for shipping, the shorter are much more serviceable. And the powder in them, being such as it ought, will be all fired long before the shot come forth; and to reach farre in fights at Sea, is to little effect: For he that purposeth to annoy his Enemie, must not shoote at randon, nor at point blanke, if he purpose to accomplish with his devoire, neither must he spend his shot, nor powder, but where a pot-gun may reach his contrary; how much the neerer, so much the better: and this duely executed, the short Artillery will worke his effect, as well as the long; otherwise, neither short nor long are of much importance: but here, my meaning is not, to approve the overshort Peeces, devised by some persons, which at every shot they make, daunce out of their cariages, but those of indifferent length, and which keepe the meane, betwixt seaven and eight foote.

[IV. vii. 1404.] *Intertainment of Spaniards.*

The entertainment we gave unto our contraries, being otherwise then was expected, they fell off, and ranged a head, having broken in peeces all our gallerie: and presently they cast about upon us, and being able to keepe us company, with their fighting sailes lay a weather of us, ordinarily within Musket shot; playing continually with them and their great Artillerie; which we endured, and answered as we could. Our Pinnace engaged her selfe so farre, as that before she could come unto us, the Vice-admirall had like to cut her off, and comming to lay us aboord, and to enter her men, the Vice-admirall boorded with her; so that some of our company entred our Ship over her bow-sprit, as they themselves reported. Wee were not a little comforted with the sight of our people in safetie, within our Ship, for in all, wee were but three score and fifteene

The English 75.

men and boyes, when we began to fight, and our enemies thirteene hundred men and boyes, little more or lesse, and those of the choise of Peru. *The Spaniards 1300.*

Here it shall not be out of the way, to discourse a little of the Spanish Discipline, and manner of their government in generall; which is in many things different to ours. In this expedition came two Generals, the one Don Beltran de Castro, who had the absolute authoritie and command: The other Michael Angell Pilipon, a man well in yeares, and came to this preferment by his long and painefull service, who though he had the title of Generall by Sea, I thinke it was rather of courtesie then by Pattent; and for that he had beene many yeares Generall of the South Seas, for the carriage and swaftage of the Silver from Lyma to Panama; Hee seemed to be an assistant, to supply that with his counsell, advice, and experience, whereof Don Beltran had never made triall (for he commanded not absolutely, but with the confirmation of Don Beltran) for the Spaniards never give absolute authoritie to more then one. A custome that hath beene, and is approved in all Empires, Kingdomes, Common-wealths, and Armies, rightly disciplined: the mixture hath beene seldome seene to prosper, as will manifestly appeare, if we consider the issue of all actions and journeys committed to the government of two or more generally. *The Spanish discipline.*

The Spaniards in their Armadoes by Sea, imitate the discipline, order and officers, which are in an Army by Land, and divide themselves into three bodies, to wit, Souldiers, Marriners and Gunners. Their Souldiers ward and watch, and their officers in every Ship round, as if they were on the shoare; this is the onely taske they undergoe, except cleaning their Armes, wherein they are not over curious. The Gunners are exempted from all labour and care, except about the Artillerie. And these are either Almaynes, Flemmings, or strangers; for the Spaniards are but indifferently practised in this Art. The Marriners are but as slaves to the rest, to *The Souldiers.* *The Gunner.* *The Marriner.*

moyle and to toyle day and night, and those but few and bad, and not suffered to sleepe or harbour themselves under the deckes. For in faire or foule weather, in stormes, sunne or raine, they must passe voide of covert or succour.

Officers in a Ship of War. *Captaine of the Ship.* *Captaine of the Soldiers.* There is ordinarily in every Ship of Warre, a Captaine, whose charge is, as that of our Masters with us, and also a Captaine of the Souldiers, who commandeth the Captaine of the Ship, the Souldiers, Gunners, and Marriners in her; yea, though there be divers Captaines, with their companies in one Shippe (which is usuall amongst them) yet one hath the supreame authoritie, and the residue are at his ordering and disposing. They *M. Del Campo, &c.* have their Mastros de Campo, Sergeant, Master, Generall (or Captaine) of the Artillery, with their Alfere Major, and all other officers, as in a Campe. If they come to fight with another Armado, they order themselves as in a battell by land: In a Vanguard, rereward, maine battell, and wings, &c. In every particular Ship the Souldiers are set all upon the deckes; their forecastle they account their head Front, or Vangard of their company; that abaft the Mast, the rereward; and the waste, the maine battell; wherein they place their principall force, and on which they principally relye, which they call their placa de armas or place of Armes; *Ill order.* which taken, their hope is lost. The Gunners fight not, but with their great Artillerie: the Marriners attend onely on the tackling of the Ship, and handling of the sailes, and are unarmed, and subject to all misfortunes; not permitted to shelter themselves, but to be still aloft, whether it be necessary or needelesse. So ordinarily, those which first faile are the Marriners and Sailers, of which they have greatest neede. They use few close fights or fireworks, & all this proceedeth (as I judge) of errour in placing land Captaines for Governors and Commanders by Sea, where they seldome *Prying of the Spaniards into our Discipline.* understand what is to be done or commanded.

Some that have beene our prisoners, have perfited

themselves of that they have seene amongst us: and others disguised, under colour of treaties, for ransoming of prisoners, for bringing of presents, & other Imbassages, have noted our forme of shipping, our manner of defences and discipline: Sithence which espiall in such actions as they have beene imployed in, they seeke to imitate our government, and reformed discipline at Sea: which doubtlesse is the best, and most proper that is at this day knowne, or practised in the whole world, if the execution be answerable to that which is known and received for true and good amongst us.

Their imitation of our Discipline.

In the Captaine (for so the Spaniards call their Admirall) was an English Gunner, who to gaine grace with those under whom he served, preferring himselfe, and offered to sinke our Ship with the first shot he made; who, by the Spaniards relation, being traversing a peece in the bowe, to make his shot, had his head carried away with the first or second shot, made out of our Ship. It slew also two or three of those which stood next him. A good warning for those which fight against their Countrie.

Englishman lost the English and therefore the man.

The fight continued so hot on both sides, that the Artillery and Muskets never ceased playing. Our contraries, towards the evening, determined the third time to lay us abourd, with resolution to take us, or to hazard all. The order they set downe for the execution hereof, was, that the Captaine (or Admirall) should bring himselfe upon our weather bow, and so fall aboord of us, upon our broad side: And that the Vice-admirall, should lay his Admirall aboord upon his weather quarter, and so enter his men into her; that from her, they might enter us, or doe as occasion should minister. [IV. vii. 1405.]

The Captaine of the Vice-admirall, being more hardie then considerate, and presuming with his ship and company to get the prize, and chiefe honour; waited not the time to put in execution the direction given, but presently came aboord to wind-wards upon our

The Spaniards pay deerly for their rashnesse.

broad side. Which doubtlesse was the great and especiall Providence of Almightie God, for the discouraging of our enemies, and animating of us. For although she was as long, or rather longer then our ship, being rarely built, and utterly without fights or defence; what with our Muskets, and what with our fire-works we clered her decks in a moment; so that scarce any person appeared. And doubtlesse if we had entred but a doozen men, we might have enforced them to have rendred unto us, or taken her, but our company being few, and the principall of them slaine, or hurt, wee durst not, neither was it wisdome, to adventure the separation of those which remayned: and so held that for the best and soundest resolution, to keepe our forces together in defence of our owne.

The Vice-admirall seeing himselfe in great distresse, called to his Admirall for succour: who presently laid him aboord, and entred a hundred of his men, and so cleered themselves of us. In this boording the Vice-admirall had at the least thirtie and six men hurt, and slaine: and amongst them his Pilot shot through the bodie, so as he died presently. And the Admirall also received some losse; which wrought in them a new resolution; only with their Artillery to batter us; and so with time to force us to surrender, or to sink us, which they put in execution; and placing themselves within a Musket shot of our weather quarter, and sometimes on our broad side, lay continually beating upon us without intermission, which was doubtlesse the best and securest determination they could take, for they being rare ships, and without any manner of close fights, in boording with us, their men were all open unto us, and we under covert and shelter. For on all parts our ship was Musket free, and the great Artillery of force must cease on either side (the ships being once grapled together) except we resolved to sacrifice our selves together in fire. For it is impossible, if the great Ordnance play (the ships being boorded) but that they

And take a new resolution.

Great Ordnance fire a ship neere.

must set fire on the ship they shoot at; and then no suretie can bee had to free himselfe, as experience daily confirmeth. A Peece is as a Thunder-clap. As was seene in the Spanish Admirall after my imprisonment, crossing from Panama to Cape San Francisco, a Rayao, (for so the Spaniards call a Thunderclap) brake over our ship, killed one in the fore-top, astonished either two or three in the shroudes, and split the Mast in strange manner; where it entred, it could hardly be discerned, but where it came forth, it drave out a great splinter before it; and the man slaine, was cleane in a manner without signe or token of hurt, although all his bones turned to powder, and those who lived and recovered, had all their bodies blacke, as burnt with fire. In like manner the Peece of Ordnance hurteth not those which stand aside, nor those which stand aslope from his mouth, but those alone which stand directly against the true point of his levell: though sometimes the wind of the shot overthroweth one, and the splinters (beeing accidents) mayne and hurt others. But principally where the Peece doth resemble the Thunderclap, as when the ships are boorded. For then, although the Artillerie be discharged without shot, the fury of the fire, and his piercing nature is such, as it entreth by the seames, and all parts of the ships sides, and meeting with so fit matter as Pitch, Tarre, Oacombe, and sometimes with powder, presently converteth all into flames. For avoyding whereof, as also the danger and damage which may come by Pikes and other inventions of fire, and if any ship be oppressed with many ships at once, and subject by them to be boorded, I hold it a good course to strike his fore and mayne yards close to his decke, and to fight with sprit-saile, and myson, and top-sailes loose: so shall hee bee able to hinder them from oppressing him. Some have thought it a good policie to launce out some ends of masts or yards by the Ports or other parts: but this is to be used in the greater ships, for in the lesser, though they be never

Strange effect of Thunder.

Policies to avoide boordings.

so strong, the waight of the bigger will beate out the opposite sides, and doe hurt, and make great spoile in the lesser. And in boording, ordinarily the lesser ship hath al the harme, which the one ship can doe unto the other.

Dispute concerning ships of Trade.

Here is offered to speake of a point much canvassed amongst Carpenters, and Sea Captaines, diversly maintained, but yet undetermined: that is, whether the race or loftie built ship, be best for the Merchant, and those which imploy themselves in trading: I am of opinion, that the race ship is most convenient; yet so, as that every perfect ship ought to have two decks, for the better strengthening of her; the better succouring of her people; the better preserving of her Merchandize and victuall, and for her greater safetie from Sea and stormes. But for the Princes ships, and such as are imployed continually in the Warres, to bee built loftie I hold very necessarie for many Reasons. First, for Majestie and terrour of the Enemie; Secondly, for harbouring of many men; Thirdly, for accomodating more men to fight; Fourthly, for placing and using more Artillerie; Fiftly, for better strengthning and securing of the ship; Sixtly, for over topping and subjecting the Enemie; Seventhly, for greater safegard and defence of the shippe and company. For it is plaine, that the shippe with three deckes, or with two and an halfe, shewes more pompe then another of her burthen with a decke and halfe, or two deckes, and breedeth great terror to the enemy, discovering her selfe to be a more powerful ship as she is, then the other, which being indeed a ship of force, seemeth to be but a Barke, and with her low building hideth her burthen. And who doubteth that a decke and a halfe cannot harbour that proportion of men, that two deckes, and two deckes and a halfe can accommodate to fight, nor carrie the Artillerie so plentifully, nor so commodiously. Neither can the ship be so strong with a decke and a halfe, as with two deckes, nor with two as with three,

Concerning the Prince his ships.

[IV. vii. 1406.]

nor carrie her Masts so taut, nor spread so great a clue, nor contrive so many fights to answere one another for defence & offence. And the advantage the one hath of the other, experience daily teacheth.

That which hath beene spoken of the danger of the Artillerie in boording is not to be wrested, nor interpreted to cut off utterly the use of all Artillerie after boording, but rather I hold nothing more convenient in ships of Warre, then Fowlers and great Bases in the cage workes, and Murderers in the Cobridge heads, for that their execution and speedie charging and discharging is of great moment. Many I know have left the use of them, and of sundry other preventions, as of shere-hookes, stones in their tops, and arming them, Pikebolts in their wales and divers other engines of Antiquitie. But upon what inducement I cannot relate, unlesse it be because they never knew their effects and benefit, and may no doubt be used without the inconveniences before mentioned in great Ordnance. As also such may bee the occasion, that without danger some of the great Artillery may be used, and that with great effect, which is in the discretion of the Commanders and their Gunners, as hath beene formerly seene and daily is experimented. In the Revenge of her Majesties, good experience was made, who sunke two of the Spanish Armado lying aboord her.

Courses for Artillery after boording.

Disuse of Engines of Antiquitie.

In these boordings and skirmishes divers of our men were slaine, and many hurt, and my selfe amongst them received six wounds; one of them in the necke very perillous; another through the arme perishing the bone, and cutting the sinewes close by the Arme-pit; the rest not so dangerous. The Master of our ship had one of his eyes, his nose, and halfe his face shot away. Master Henry Courton was slaine; on these two I principally relied for the prosecution of our voyage, if God by sicknes, or otherwise should take me away. The Spaniards with their great Ordnance lay continually playing upon us, and now and then parled and invited

Sir R. H. wounded.

The Spaniards parley.

us to surrender our selves a Buena Querra. The Captaine of our ship, in whose direction and guide, our lives, our honour, and welfare now remained; seeing many of our people wounded and slaine, and that few were left to sustaine and maintaine the fight, or to resist the entry of the enemy (if hee should againe boord us) and that our contraries offered us good pertido: came unto me accompanied with some others, and began to relate the state of our ship, and how that many were hurt and slain, and scarce any men appeared to traverse the Artillery, or to oppose themselves for defence if the enemy should boord with us againe. And how that the Admirall offered us life and liberty, and to receive us a Buena querra, and to send us into our owne Countrey. Saying, that if I thought it so meet, hee and the rest were of opinion that wee should put out a flag of truce, and make some good composition. The great losse of blood had weakned me much. The torment of my wounds newly received made me faint, and I laboured for life, within short space expecting I should give up the ghost.

But this parly pierced through my heart, and wounded my soule; words failed mee wherewith to expresse it, and none can conceive it, but hee which findeth himselfe in the like agonie: yet griefe and rage ministred force, and caused me to breake forth into this reprehension and execution following.

Great is the Crosse, which almightie God hath suffered to come upon mee; that assaulted by our professed enemies, and by them wounded (as you see) in body, lying gasping for breath, those whom I reputed for my friends to fight with me, those which I relied on as my brethren to defend me in all occasions. Those whom I have nourished, cherished, fostered and loved as my children to succour me, helpe me, and to sustaine my reputation in all extremities, are they who first draw their swords against me, are they which wound my heart, in giving me up into mine enemies

hands, whence proceedeth this ingratitude? whence this faintnesse of heart? whence this madnesse? is the cause you fight for, unjust? is the honor and love of your Prince and Countrey buried in the dust? your sweet lives, are they become loathsome unto you? will you exchange your liberty for thraldome, will you consent to see that, which you have sweat for, and procured with so great labour and adventure at the dispose of your enemies? can you content your selves to suffer my bloud spilt before your eyes? and my life bereft me in your presence? with the bloud and lives of your deere brethren to be unrevenged? is not an honourable death to be preferred, before a miserable and slavish life? The one sustaining the honor of our Nation, of our predecessors, and of our societie, the other ignominious to our selves, and reproachfull to our Nation. Can you be perswaded that the enemy will performe his promise with you, that never leaveth to breake it with others when he thinketh it advantagious? and know you not, that with him all is convenient that is profitable? Hold they not this for a maxime; that, nulla fides est servanda cum hereticis. In which number they account us to be. Have you forgotten their faith violated with my father, in S. John de Ulua, the conditions & capitulations being firmed by the Viceroy, & twelve Hostages, all principall personages given for the more securitie of either partie to other? Have you forgotten their promise broken with John Vibao, & his company in Florida, having conditioned to give them shipping and victuals to carry them into their country? immediately after they had delivered their weapons & arms, had they not their throats cut? have you forgotten how they dealt with John Oxenham, & his Company, in this Sea, yeelding upon composition? and how after a long imprisonment, and many miseries (being carried from Panama to Lyma) and there hanged with all his Company, as Pyrates, by the Justice? And can you forget how daily they abuse our noble natures, which being void of

Perfidiousnesse often found in Spanish promises.

[IV. vii. 1407.]

malice, measure all by sinceritie, but to our losse? for that when we come to demand performance, they stop our mouthes: Either with laying the inquisition upon us, or with delivering us into the hands of the ordinary Justice, or of the Kings Ministers. And then urged with their promises, they shrinke up to the shoulders, and say, That they have now no further power over us. They sorrow in their hearts, to see their promise is not accomplished; but now they cannot doe us any good office, but to pray to God for us, and to intreat the Ministers in our behalfe.

The rest of this conference, being long, is omitted.

Came wee into the South sea to put out flags of truce? And left we our pleasant England, with all her contentments, with intention or purpose to availe our selves of white rags?

They resolve to fight out.

The Captaine and Company were perswaded to resolution; and in accomplishment of this promise and determination, they persevered in sustaining the fight all this night, with the day and night following, and the third day after. In which time the Enemy never left us day nor night, beating continually upon us with his great and small shot. Saving that every morning, an houre before

The Enemy breatheth.

breake of day, hee edged a little from us to breath, and to remedie such defects as were amisse; as also to consult what they should doe the day and night following. This

The English repaire their defects.

time of interdiction we imployed in repairing our Sayles and Tacklings, in stopping our Leakes, in fishing and woolling our Masts and Yards, in mending our Pumpes, and in fitting and providing our selves for the day to come: though this was but little space for so many workes, yet gave it great reliefe and comfort unto us, and made us better able to endure the defence: for otherwise our ship must of force have suncke before our surrendrie, having many shot under water, and our Pumpes shot to pieces every day. In all this space, not any man of either part tooke rest or sleepe, and little sustenance, besides Bread and Wine.

In the second dayes fight, the Vice-Admirall comming upon our quarter, William Blanch, one of our Masters

mates, with a luckie hand, made a shot unto her with one of our sterne Peeces; it carried away his maine Mast close by the deck: wherewith the Admirall beare up to her to see what harme shee had received, and to give her such succour, as shee was able to spare: which we seeing, were in good hope that they would have now left to molest us any longer, having wherewithall to entertaine themselves in redressing their owne harmes. And so we stood away from them close by as wee could: which wee should not have done, but prosecuted the occasion, and brought our selves close upon her weather gage, and with our great and small shot hindered them from repairing their harmes: if we had thus done, they had beene forced to cut all by the boord, and it may be (lying a hull, or to le-wards of us) with a few shot we might have sunke her. At the least, it would have declared to our enemies that we had them in little estimation, when able to go from them, we would not: and perhaps beene a cause to have made them to leave us.

Vice-admirals mast shot away.

Advantages omitted.

But this occasion was let slip, as also, that other to fight with them, sayling quarter winds, or before the wind: for having stood off to Sea a day and a night, we had scope to fight at our pleasure, and no man having sea roome is bound to fight as his enemy will with disadvantage, being able otherwise to deale with equalitie: contrariwise, every man ought to seeke the meanes hee can, for his defence and greatest advantage to the anoyance of his contrary.

Now we might with our fore-saile low set have borne up before the winde, and the enemy of force must have done the like, if he would fight with us, or keep us company; and then should we have had the advantage of them. For although their Artillery were longer, waightier, and many more then ours, and in truth did pierce with greater violence; yet ours being of greater bore, and carrying a waightier and greater shot, was of more importance and of better effect for sinking and spoyling: for the smaller shot passeth through, and maketh but his hole,

The difference of shot.

Their effects.

and harmeth that which lyeth in his way; but the greater shaketh and shivereth all it meeteth, and with the splinters, or that which it encountreth, many times doth more hurt, then with his proper circumference: as is plainely seene in the battery by land, when the Saker, the Demy-colverin, the Colverin, and Demi-canon (being peeces that reach much further point blanke then the Canon) are nothing of like importance for making the breach, as is the Canon; for that this shot being ponderous pierceth with difficultie, yea worketh better effects, tormenting, shaking and overthrowing all; whereas the others, with their violence, pierce better, and make onely their hole, and so hide themselves in the Wooll or Rampire.

Errors in fight.

Besides (our ship being yare and good of steeridge) no doubt but we should have plaied better with our Ordnance, and with more effect then did our enemies; which was a greater terrour, being able to fight with lesse disadvantage, and yet to fight with the most that could be imagined, which I knew not of, neither was able to direct though I had knowne it; being in a manner senslesse, what with my wounds, and what with the agony of the surrendry propounded, for that had seldome knowne it spoken of, but that it came afterwards to be put in execution.

The General not being able to succour his Vice-admiral, except he should utterly leave us, gave them order to shift as well as they could for the present, and to beare with the next Port, and there to repaire their harmes. Himselfe presently followed the Chase, and in short space fetched us up, and began a fresh to batter us with his great and small shot. The Vice-admirall (having saved what they could) cut the rest by the boord, and with Fore-sayle and Myson came after us also, and before the setting of the Sun, were come upon our broad side, we bearing all our Sayles, and after kept us company, lying upon our weather quarter, and anoying us what shee could.

[IV. vii. 1408.]

Here I hold it necessary, to make mention of two things, which were most prejudiciall unto us, and the principall causes of our perdition, the errours and faults of late dayes, crept in amongst those who follow the Sea, and learned from the Flemings and Easterlings. I wish that by our misfortunes others would take warning, and procure to redresse them as occasions shall be offered. The one, is to fight unarmed, where they may fight armed. The other, is in comming to fight, to drinke themselves drunke. Yea, some are so mad, that they mingle Powder with Wine to give it the greater force, imagining that it giveth spirit, strength and courage, and taketh away all feare and doubt. The latter is, for the most part true, but the former is false and beastly, and altogether against reason. For though the nature of wine with moderation, is to comfort and revive the heart, and to fortifie and strengthen the spirit; yet the immoderate use thereof worketh quite contrary effects.

Learned from the Flemings & Easterlings.
1. *To fight unarmed.*
2. *To drinke to excesse.*

In fights, all receits which adde courage and spirit, are of great regard to be allowed and used; and so is a draught of wine to be given to every man before he come to action, but more then enough is pernicious; for, exceeding the meanes, it offendeth, and enfeebleth the sences, converting the strength (which should resist the force of the enemy) into weakenesse: it dulleth and blindeth the understanding, and consequently depraveth any man of true valour. For that hee is disenabled to judge and apprehend the occasion, which may bee offered to assault and retire in time convenient, the raynes of reason being put into the hands of passion and disorder. For after I was wounded, this nimium bred great disorder and inconvenience in our ship, the pot continually walking, infused desperate and foolish hardinesse in many, who blinded with the fume of the liquor, considered not of any danger, but thus, and thus would stand at hazard; some in vaine glory vaunting themselves; some other rayling upon the Spaniards; another inviting his companion to come and stand by him, and not to budge

Folly of the bold English.

a foote from him; which indiscreetly they put in execution, and cost the lives of many a good man, slaine by our enemies Muskettiers, who suffered not a man to shew himselfe, but they presently overthrew him with speed and watchfulnesse. For prevention of the second errour, although I had great preparation of Armour, as well of proofe, as of light Corselets, yet not a man would use them, but esteemed a pot of wine, a better defence, then an armour of proofe: which truly was great madnesse, and a lamentable fault, worthy to be banished from amongst all reasonable people, and well to be weighed by all Commanders. For if the Spaniard surpasseth us in any thing, it is in his temperance and suffering: and, where he hath had the better hand of us, it hath beene (for the most part) through our owne folly, for that wee will fight unarmed with him being armed. And although I have heard many men maintaine, that in shipping, armour is of little profit; all men of good understanding, will condemne such desperate ignorance. For besides, that the sleightest armour secureth the parts of a mans bodie (which it covereth) from pike, sword, and all hand weapons: it likewise giveth boldnesse and courage; a man armed, giveth a greater and a weightier blow, then a man unarmed, he standeth faster, and with greater difficultie is to be overthrowne.

The Spaniard surpasseth us onely in temperance.

And I never read, but that the glistering of the armour hath beene by Authors observed, for that (as I imagine) his show breedeth terrour in his contraries, and despaire to himselfe if he be unarmed. And therefore in time of warre, such as devote themselves to follow the profession of Armes (by Sea or by Land) ought to covet nothing more then to bee well armed, for as much as it is the second meanes, next Gods protection, for preserving and prolonging many mens lives. Wherin the Spanish nation deserveth commendation above others, every one from the highest to the lowest, putting their greatest care in providing faire and good Armes. Hee which cannot come to the price of a Corslet, will have a coate of Mayle,

The use & profit of arming exactly observed by the Spanish.

a Jacket, at least, a Buffe-jerkin, or a privie Coate; And hardly will they bee found without it, albeit they live, and serve (for the most part) in extreame hot Countries.

Whereas I have knowne many bred in cold Countries, in a moment complaine of the waight of their Armes, that they smoother them and then cast them off, chusing rather to be shot through with a bullet, or lanched through with a pike, or thrust through with a sword, then to endure a little travaile and suffering. But let mee give these lazie ones this lesson, that hee that will goe a warfare, must resolve himselfe to fight, and he that putteth on this resolution, must be contented to endure both heate and weight, first, for the safeguard of his life, and next for subduing of his enemy; both which are hazarded and put into great danger, if hee fight unarmed with an enemy armed. Now for mine owne opinion, I am resolved that armour is more necessary by Sea, then by Land, yea, rather to be excused on the shoare, then in the ship. My reason is, for that on the shoare the bullet onely hurteth, but in the ship, I have seene the splinters kill and hurt many at once, and yet the shot to have passed without touching any person. As in the Galeon, in which I came out of the Indies, in Anno 1597. in the rode of Tarcera, when the Queenes Majesties ships, under the charge of the Earle of Essex, chased us into the roade, with the splinters of one shot, were slaine, maymed, and sore hurt, at the least a dozen persons, the most part whereof had beene excused if they had beene armed.

Armes more necessary by Sea, then at Land.

And doubtlesse, if these errours had beene foreseene, and remedied by us, many of those who were slaine and hurt, had beene on foot, and wee enabled to have sustained and maintained the fight much better and longer; and perhaps at last had freed our selves. For if our enemy had come to boord with us, our close fights were such as wee were secure, and they open unto us. And what with our Cubridge heads, one answering the other, our hatches upon bolts, our brackes in our Deckes and Gunner roome, it was impossible to take us as long

[IV. vii. 1409.]

as any competent number of men had remained, twentie persons would have sufficed for defence, and for this such ships are called Impregnable, and are not to be taken, but by surrender, nor to be overcome, but with boording or sinking, as in us by experience was verified; and not in us alone, but in the Revenge of the Queenes Majestie, which being compassed round about with all the Armado of Spaine, and boorded sundry times by many at once, is said to have sunke three of the Armado by her side.

The Revenge avenged.

The third cause.

Race-ships of Warre disliked.

A third and last cause of the losse of sundry of our men, most worthy of note for all Captaines, owners, and Carpenters: was the race building of our ship; the onely fault shee had, and now adayes held for a principall grace in any ship: but by the experience which I have had, it seemeth for sundry reasons verie prejudiciall for ships of Warre. For in such, those which tackle the sayles, of force must bee upon the deckes, and are open without shelter or any defence: yet here it will bee objected, That for this inconvenience, waste clothes are provided, and for want of them it is usuall to lace a bonnet, or some such shadow for the men: worthily may it bee called a shadow, and one of the most pernitious customes that can bee used for this shadow or defence, being but of linnen or woollen cloth emboldneth many, who without it would retire to better securitie, whereas now thinking themselves unseene, they become more bold then otherwise they would, and thereby shot through, when they least thinke of it. Some Captaines observing this errour, have sought to remedie it in some of his Majesties ships, not by altering the building, but by devising a certaine defence made of foure or five inch planks, of five foot high, and sixe foote broad, running upon wheeles, and placed in such parts of the ship, as are most open. These they name Blenders, and made of Elme, for the most part, for that it shivers not with a shot, as Oake and other Timber will doe, which are now in use and service, but best it is when the whole side hath one blender,

Wast-clothes, not so usefull as other devises.

and one armour of proofe for defence of those, which of force must labour and be aloft.

This race building, first came in by overmuch homing in of our ships, and received for good, under colour of making our ships thereby the better sea-ships, and of better advantage to hull and try: but in my judgement it breedeth many inconveniences, and is farre from working the effect they pretend, by disinabling them for bearing their cage worke correspondent, to the proportion and mould of the ship, making them tender sided, and unable to carry sayle in any fresh gaile of winde, and diminishing the play of their Artillery, and the place for accommodating their people to fight, labour, or rest. And I am none of those who hold opinion, that the over-much homing in, the more the better, is commodious and easier for the ship, and this is out of the experience that I have learned, which with forcible reasons I could prove, to be much rather discommodious and worthy to be reformed. But withall I hold it not necessarie to discourse here of that particularitie, but leave the consequence to men of understanding, and so surcease.

All this second day, and the third day and night, our Captaine and company sustained the fight, notwithstanding the disadvantage where they fought: The enemy being ever to wind-wards, and wee to lee-ward, their shot much damnifying us, and ours little annoying them, for whensoever a man encountereth with his enemie at Sea, in gayning the weather gage, hee is in possibilitie to sinke his contrarie, but his enemy cannot sinke him; and therefore he which is forced to fight with this disadvantage, is to procure by all meanes possible to shoote downe his contraries Masts or Yards, and to teare or spoyle his tackling and sayles: for which purpose, Billets of some heavie wood fitted to the great Ordnance, are of great importance. And so are Arrowes of fire to be shot out of Slur-bowes, and Cases of small shot joyned two and two together, with pieces of Wyer of five or sixe inches long, which also shot out of Muskets are of good

The disadvantage of Ships to lee-ward.

And the best remedie.

effect for tearing the sayles, or cutting the tackling. *Crosse-barre and Chainshot misliked.* Some are of opinion, that Crosse-barres and Chaine-shot, are of moment for the spoyling of Masts and Yards, but experience daily teacheth them not to bee of great importance, though neere at hand, I confesse, they worke great execution: but the round shot, is the onely principall and powerfull meane to breake Mast or Yard. And in this our fight, the Admirall of the Spaniards had his *The Spaniards Fore-Mast thrice shot through.* Fore-mast shot through, with two round shot, some three yards beneath the head; had either of them entred but foure inches further into the heart of the Mast, without all doubt it had freed us, and perhaps put them into our hands.

The third day, in the after-noone, which was the two and twentieth of June, 1594. according to our computation, and which I follow in this my discourse, our sayles being torne, our Mastes all perished, our Pumpes rent and shot to pieces, and our ship with fourteene shot under water, and seven or eight foot of water in hold; many of our men being slaine, and the most part of them (which remained) sore hurt, and in a manner altogether fruitlesse, and the enemy offering still to receive us a buena querra, and to give us life and libertie, and imbarkation for our Countrey. Our Captaine, and *The Company againe importunate to come to composition.* those which remained of our Companie, were all of opinion that our best course was to surrender our selves before our ship sunke. And so by common consent agreed the second time, to send a servant of mine Thomas Sanders, to signifie unto mee the estate of our ship and company: and that it was impossible by any other way to expect for hope of deliverance or life, but by the miraculous hand of God in using his Almightie power, or by an honourable surrender, which in everie mans opinion was thought most convenient. So was I desired by him to give also my consent, that the Captaine [IV. vii. 1410.] might capitulate with the Spanish Generall, and to compound the best partido he could by surrendring our selves into his hands, upon condition of life and libertie.

This hee declared unto mee, being in a manner void of sence, and out of hope to live or recover: which considered, and the circumstances of his relation, I answered as I could, that he might judge of my state, ready every moment to give up the Ghost, and unable to discerne in this cause what was convenient, except I might see the present state of the Ship. And that the honour or dishonour, the wel-fare or misery, was for them, which should be partakers of life: At last, for that I had satisfaction of his valour and true dealing, in all the time, he had served me, and in correspondence of it, had given him (as was notorious) charge and credit in many occasions, I bound him, by the love and regard he ought me, and by the faith and duetie to Almighty God, to tell me truely, if all were as he had declared. Whereunto he made answere, that he had manifested unto me the plaine and naked truth, and that he tooke God to witnesse of the same truth: with which receiving satisfaction, I forced my selfe what I could, to perswade him to animate his companions, and in my name to intreate the Captaine and the rest to persevere in defence of their libertie, lives, and reputation, remitting all to his discretion: not doubting, but he would be tender of his duetie, and zealous of my reputation, in preferring his libertie, and the libertie of the Company above all respects whatsoever. As for the welfare hoped by a surrender, I was altogether unlikely to be partaker thereof, Death threatning to deprive me of the benefit, which the enemie offered; but if God would be pleased to free us, the joy and comfort I should receive, might perhaps give mee force and strength to recover health.

Which answere being delivered to the Captaine, he presently caused a flagge of truce to be put in place of our Ensigne, and began to parley of our surrendry with a Spaniard, which Don Beltran appointed for that purpose, from the poope of the Admirall, to offer in his name, the conditions before specified; with his faithfull promise and oath, as the Kings Generall, to take us a buena

querra, and to send us all into our owne Countrey. The promise he accepted, and said, that under the same he yeelded, and surrendred himselfe, Ship and Company. Immediately, there came unto me another servant of mine, and told me, that our Captaine had surrendred himselfe and our Ship; which understood, I called unto one Juan Gomes de Pineda, a Spanish Pilot, which was our Prisoner, and in all the fight we had kept close in hold, and willed him to goe to the Generall Don Beltran de Castro from me, to tell him, that if he would give us his word and oath, as the Generall of the King, and some pledge for confirmation, to receive us a buena querra, and to give us our lives and liberty, and present passage into our owne Countrey, that wee would surrender our selves, and Ship into his hands: Otherwise, that he should never enjoy of us, nor ours any thing, but a resolution every man to dye fighting.

With this Message I dispatched him, and called unto me all my Company, and encouraged them to sacrifice their lives fighting and killing the enemy, if hee gave but a fillip to any of our companions. The Spaniards willed us to hoise out our boate, which was shot all to peeces; and so was theirs. Seeing that he called to us to amaine our sailes, which wee could not well doe, for that they were slung, and we had not men enough to hand them. In this parley, the Vice-admirall comming upon our quarter, & not knowing of what had past, discharged her two chase peeces at us, and hurt our Captaine very sore in the thigh, and maimed one of our Masters Mates, called Hugh Maires, in one of his Armes, but after knowing us to be rendred, he secured us: And we satisfied them that we could not hoise out our boate, nor strike our sayles, the Admirall laid us abourd, but before any man entred, John Gomes went unto the Generall, who received him with great curtesie, and asked him what we required; whereunto hee made answere that my demand was that in the Kings name, he should give us his faith and promise, to give us our

The English surrender.

lives, to keepe the Lawes of faire warres and quarter, and to send us presently into our Countrey; and in confirmation hereof, that I required some pledge, whereunto the Generall made answere; that in the Kings Majesties name his Master, he received us a buena querra, and swore by God Almighty, and by the habit of Alcantara (whereof he had received Knighthood, and in token whereof, he wore in his breast a greene crosse, which is the ensigne of that Order) that hee would give us our lives with good entreatie, and send us as speedily as he could into our owne Countrey. In confirmation whereof, he tooke off his glove, and sent it to me as a pledge. *Glove sent for pledge.*

With this message John Gomes returned, and the Spaniards entred and tooke possession of our Ship, every one crying buena querra, buena querra, oy por immaniana por ti: with which our Company began to secure themselves.

The Generall was a principall Gentleman of the ancient Nobilitie of Spaine, and brother to the Conde de Lemos, whose intention no doubt was according to his promise; and therefore considering that some bad intreaty and insolency might be offered unto me in my Ship, by the common Souldiers, who seldome have respect to any person in such occasions, especially in the case I was, whereof he had enformed himselfe; for prevention, he sent a principall Captain, brought up long time in Flanders, called Pedro Alveres de Pulgar, to take care of me, and whilest the Ship were one abourd the other, to bring me into his Ship: which he accomplished with great humanity and courtesie; despising the barres of Gold which were shared before his face, which hee might alone have enjoyed, if he would: And truely he was, as after I found by triall, a true Captaine; a man worthy of any charge, and of the noblest condition that I have knowne any Spaniard. *Brave and worthy Spaniard.* [IV. vii. 1411.]

The Generall received me with great courtesie and compassion, even with teares in his eyes, and words of *The mildnesse of a Generall after victorie.*

great consolation and commanded mee to bee accommodated in his owne Cabbine, where hee sought to cure and comfort mee the best hee could; the like hee used with all our hurt men, sixe and thirtie at least. And doubtlesse as true courage, valour, and resolution, is requisite in a Generall in the time of battell. So humanitie, mildnesse, and courtesie after victorie.

Whilest the ships were together, the Maine-mast of the Daintie fell by the boord, and the people being occupied in ransacking and seeking for spoile and pillage neglected the principall; whereof ensued, that within a short space the Daintie grew so deepe with water, which increased for want of prevention, that all who were in her desired to forsake her, and weaved and cried for succour to be saved, being out of hope of her recoverie. Whereupon, the Generall calling together the best experimented men hee had, and consulting with them what was best to bee done: it was resolved, that Generall Michael Angel should goe aboord the Daintie, and with him threescore Mariners, as many Souldiers; and with them the English men, who were able to labour to free her from water, and to put her in order if it were possible: and then to recover Perico the Port of Panama for that of those to wind-wards it was impossible to turne up to any of them, and neerer then to leward was not any that could supply our necessities and wants, which lay from us East, North-east, above two hundred leagues.

The Daintie in danger of perishing.

Michael Angel, being a man of experience and care accomplished that hee tooke in hand, although in cleering and bayling the water, in placing a pumpe, and in fitting and mending her Fore-saile he spent above six and thirtie houres. During which time the Ships lay all a hull; but this worke ended, they set saile and directed their course for the Iles of Pearles: And for that the Daintie sailed badly, what for want of her Maine-saile, and with the advantage which all the South Sea ships have of all those built in our North Sea. The Admirall gave her a taw, which notwithstanding (the wind calming with us as wee

Michael Angel recovereth the ship.

approached neerer to the Land) twelve daies were spent before wee could fetch sight of the Ilands, which lie alongst the Coast beginning some eight leagues West South-west from Panama, and run to the Southwards neere thirtie leagues. They are many and most inhabited, and those which have people have some Negros, slaves unto the Spaniards, which occupie themselves in labour of the Land, or in fishing for Pearles.

Many Ilands.

In times past many enriched themselves with that trade, but now it is growne to decay. The manner of fishing for Pearles is, with certaine long Pinnases or small Barkes, in which there goe foure, five, six, or eight Negros, expert swimmers and great dievers, whom the Spaniards call Busos, with tract of time, use, and continuall practise, having learned to hold their breath long under water for the better atchieving their worke. These throwing themselves into the Sea, with certaine instruments of their Art, goe to the bottome and seeke the Bankes of the Oysters in which the Pearles are ingendred, and with their force and Art remove from their foundation, in which they spend more or lesse time, according to the resistance the firmnesse of the ground affordeth. Once losed, they put them into a bag under their armes, and after bring them up into their Boats, having loaden it they goe to the shoare, there they open them and take out the Pearles: they lie under the uttermost part of the circuit of the Oyster in rankes and proportions, under a certaine part which is of many pleights and folds, called the Russe, for the similitude it hath unto a Russe. The Pearles increase in bignesse, as they bee neerer the end or joynt of the Oyster. The meate of those which have these Pearles is milkie, and not verie wholsome to be eaten. In Anno 1583. in the Iland of Margarita, I was at the dregging of Pearle Oysters, after the manner we dreg Oysters in England, and with mine owne hands I opened many, and tooke out the Pearles of them; some greater, some lesse, and in good quantitie.

Fishing for Pearles.

They are found in divers parts of the world, as in the

The places where Pearles are found.

West Indies, in the South Sea, in the East Indian Sea, in the Straits of Magellane, and in the Scottish Sea. Those found neere the Poles are not perfect, but are of a thicke colour, whereas such as are found neere the line are most orient and transparent: the curious call it their water, and the best is a cleere white shining, with fierie flames. And those of the East India have the best reputation, though as good are found in the West India: the choice ones are

Great Pearle. of great valew and estimation, but the greatest that I have heard of, was found in these Ilands of Pearles; the which King Philip the second of Spaine, gave to his daughter Elizabeth, wife to Albertus, Arch-Duke of Austria, and Governour of the States of Flanders, in whose possession it remaineth, and is called, la Peregrina, for the rarenesse of it, being as big as the pomell of a Poniard.

The Generall continueth his honourable usage, towards the sicke and wounded. In this Navigation, after our surrender, the Generall tooke speciall care for the good intreatie of us, and especially of those who were hurt. And God so blessed the hands of our Surgions (besides that they were expert in their Art) that of all our wounded men not one died, that was alive the day after our surrendry, and many of them with eight, ten, or twelve wounds, and some with more. The thing that ought to move us to give God

[IV. vii. 1412.] Almightie especiall thankes and praises was, that they were cured in a manner without Instruments or Salves: For the Chests were all broken to pieces; and many of their Simples and Compounds throwne into the Sea; those which remayned, were such, as were throwne about the ship in broken pots and bagges, and such as by the Divine Providence were reserved, at the end of three dayes, by order from the Generall, were commanded to be sought and gathered together. These with some Instruments of small moment, bought and procured from those, who had reserved them to a different end, did not onely serve for our cures, but also for the curing of the Spaniards, beeing many more, then those of our Company.

Spanish Surgions ignorant. For the Spanish Surgeons were altogether ignorant in their profession, and had little or nothing wherewith to

cure. And I have noted, that the Spaniards in generall are nothing so curious in accommodating themselves with good and carefull Surgeons, nor to fit them with that which belongeth to their profession, as other Nations are, though they have greater need then any, that I doe know.

At the time of our surrender, I had not the Spanish Tongue, and so was forced to use an Interpreter, or the Latine, or French; which holpe mee much for the understanding of those, which spake unto me in Spanish; together with a little smattering I had of the Portugall.

Through the noble proceeding of Don Beltran with us, and his particular care towards mee, in curing and comforting me, I began to gather heart, and hope of life, and health; my servants which were on foot, advised me ordinarily of that which past. But some of our enemies, badly inclined, repined at the proceedings of the Generall; and said, he did ill to use us so well; That we were Lutherans; and for that cause, the faith which was given us, was not to be kept nor performed: Others, that we had fought as good Souldiers, and therefore deserved good quarter. Others, nicknamed us with the name of Corsarios, or Pirats; not discerning thereby that they included themselves within the same imputation. Some were of opinion, that from Panama, the Generall would send us into Spaine; Others said, that he durst not dispose of us, but by order from the Vice-roy of Peru, who had given him his authoritie. This hit the naile on the head.

To all I gave the hearing, and laid up in the store-house of my memory, that which I thought to be of substance, and in the store-house of my consideration, endeavoured to frame a proportionable resolution to all occurrents, conformable to Gods most holy Will. Withall I profited my selfe of the meanes, which should bee offered, and beare greatest probabilitie to worke our comfort, helpe, and remedie. And so, as time ministred oportunitie, I began, and endeavoured to satisfie the Generall, and the better sort in the points I durst inter-

meddle. And especially to perswade (by the best reasons I could) that wee might bee sent presently from Panama: Alleaging the promise given us, the cost and charges ensuing, which doubtlesse would bee such as deserved consideration and excuse: besides that, now whilest hee was in place, and power, and authoritie in his hands, to performe with us, that he would looke into his honour, and profit him selfe of the occasion, and not put us into the hands of a third person; who perhaps being more powerfull then him selfe, he might be forced to pray and intreate the performance of his promise; whereunto he gave us the hearing, and bare us in hand, that he would doe, what he could.

Misprision of the terme Pirats.

The Generall, and all in generall, not only in the Peru, but in all Spaine, and the Kingdomes thereof (before our surrendry) held all Englishmen of Warre, to bee Corsarios, or Pirats; which I laboured to reforme, both in the Peru, and also in the Counsels of Spaine, and amongst the Chieftaines, Souldiers, and better sort, with whom I came to have conversation; Alledging that a Pirate, or Corsario, is he, which in time of peace, or truce spoyleth, or robbeth those, which have peace or truce with them: but the English have neither peace nor truce with Spaine, but warre; and therefore not to bee accounted Pirats. Besides, Spaine broke the peace with England, and not England with Spaine; and that by Ymbargo, which of all kinds of defiances, is most reprooved, and of least reputation; The ransoming of prisoners, and that by the Canon, being more honorable, but above all, the most honorable is with Trumpet and Herald, to proclaime and denounce the warre by publike defiance. And so if they should condemne the English for Pirats, of force, they must first condemne themselves. Moreover, Pirats are those, who range the Seas without licence of their Prince; who when they are met with, are punished more severely by their owne Lords, then when they fall into the hands of strangers: which is notorious to bee more severely prosecuted in England (in time of peace) then in any the

What a Pirate is.

Three sorts of defiances.

Kingdomes of Christendome. But the English have all licence, either immediately from their Prince, or from other thereunto authorized, and so cannot in any sense be comprehended under the name of Pirats, for any hostilitie undertaken against Spaine, or the dependancies thereof.

The custome of Spaine for warre.

And so the state standing as now it doth; if in Spaine a particular man should arme a ship, and goe in warfare with it against the English, and happened to be taken by them: I make no question, but the company should be intreated according to that manner, which they have ever used since the beginning of the warre: without making further inquisition. Then if he were rich or poore, to see if hee were able to give a ransome, in this also they are not very curious. But if this Spanish ship should fall athwart his Kings Armado, or Gallies, I make no doubt but they would hang the Captaine and his company for Pirats. My reason is, for that by a speciall Law it is enacted: that no man in the Kingdomes of Spaine, may arme any ship, and goe in warfare, without the Kings speciall licence and commission; upon paine to be reputed a Pirate, and to be chastized with the punishment due to Corsarios. In England the case is different, for the warre once proclamed, every man may arme that will, and hath wherewith; which maketh for our greater exemption, from being comprehended within the number of Pirats.

The custome of England. [IV. vii. 1413.]

With these, and like Arguments to this purpose (to avoid tediousnesse) I omit; I convinced all those whom I heard to harpe upon this string; which was of no small importance for our good entreatie, and motives for many, to further and favour the accomplishment of the promise lately made unto us.

A disputation concerning Buena Querra.

One day after dinner (as was the ordinary custome) the Generall, his Captaines, and the better sort of his followers, being assembled in the Cabbin of the Poope in conference, an eager contention arose amongst them, touching the capitulation of Buena Querra and the pur-

port thereof. Some said, that onely life and good entreatie of the prisoners, was to be comprehended therein; others enlarged, and restrained it, according to their humours and experience. In fine my opinion was required, and what I had seene, and knowne touching that point: wherein I pawsed a little, and suspecting the Worst, feared that it might be a baite laid to catch me withall, and so excused my selfe; saying, that where so many experimented Souldiers were joyned together, my young judgement was little to be respected; whereunto the Generall replied: That knowledge was not alwaies incident to yeeres, (though reason requireth, that the aged should be the wisest) but an Art acquired by action, and management of affaires. And therefore they would bee but certified, what I had seene, and what my judgement was in this point, unto which, seeing I could not well excuse my selfe, I condescended; and calling my wits together, holding it better, to shoot out my bolt, by yeelding unto reason, (although I might erre) then to stand obstinate, my will being at warre with my consent, and fearing my deniall might bee taken for discourtesie, which peradventure might also purchase mee mislike with those, who seemed to wish mee comfort and restitution. I submitted to better judgement, the reformation of the present assembly; saying, Sir, under the capitulation of Buena Querra, (or faire warres) I have ever understood, and so it hath beene observed in these, as also in former times, that preservation of life, and good entreatie of the prisoner, have beene comprehended: and further by no meanes to bee urged to any thing contrary to his conscience, as touching his Religion; nor to be seduced, or menaced from the allegeance due to his Prince and Countrey: but rather to ransome him for his moneths pay. And this is that which I have knowne practised in our times, in generall amongst all Civill and Noble Nations. But the English, have enlarged it one point more towards the Spaniards rendred a Buena Querra, in these warres; have ever delivered them,

The Resolution, &c.

The noble usage of the English.

which have beene taken upon such compositions without ransome: but the covetousnesse of our age hath brought in many abuses, and excluded the principall Officers from partaking of the benefit of this priviledge, in leaving them to the discretion of the Victor, being many times poorer, then the common Souldiers, their qualities considered, whereby they are commonly put to more, then the ordinary ransome, and not being able of themselves to accomplish it, are forgotten of their Princes, and sometimes suffer long imprisonment, which they should not. *But abused in these dayes.*

With this, Don Beltrán said, This ambiguitie you have well resolved; And like a worthy Gentleman (with great courtesie and liberalitie) added; Let not the last point trouble you: but be of good comfort, for I heere give you my word anew, that your ransome (if any shall be thought due) shall be but a couple of Grey-hounds for me; and other two for my Brother, the Conde le Lemes, And this I sweare to you by the habit of Alcantera. Provided alwayes, that the King my Master leave you to my dispose, as of right you belong unto me. *Don Beltran satisfied and answereth.*

For amongst the Spaniards in their Armadoes, if there bee an absolute Generall, the tenth of all is due to him, and he is to take choise of the best: where in other Countries, it is by lot, that the Generals tenth is given; And if they be but two ships, hee doth the like, and being but one, she is of right the Generals. This I hardly believed, untill I saw a Letter, in which the King willed his Vice-roy, to give Don Beltran thankes for our ship and Artillery, which hee had given to his Majestie. I yeelded to the Generall, most heartie thankes for his great favour, wherewith he bound me ever to seeke how to serve him, and deserve it.

In this discourse Generall Michaell Angell demanded, for what purpose served the little short Arrowes, which we had in our ship, and those in so great quantitie: I satisfied them, that they were for our Muskets. They are not as yet in use amongst the Spaniards, yet of singular effect and execution as our enemies confessed: *Short Arrowes for Muskets.*

for the upper worke of their ships being Muskets proofe, in all places they passed through both sides with facilitie, and wrought extraordinary disasters, which caused admiration, to see themselves wounded with small shot, where they thought themselves secure; and by no meanes could find where they entred, nor come to the sight of any of the shot.

Tampkin is a small piece of wood turned fit for the mouth of a Peece.

Hereof they proved to profit themselves after, but for that they wanted the Tampkings, which are first to bee driven home, before the Arrow bee put in, and as then understood not the secret, they rejected them, as uncertaine, and therefore not to bee used, but of all the shot used now a dayes for the annoying of an Enemie in fight by Sea, few are of greater moment for many respects: which I hold not convenient to treate of in publike.

A little to the Southwards of the Iland of Pearle, betwixt seven and eight degrees, is the great River of Saint Buena Ventura. It falleth into the South Sea with three mouthes, the head of which, is but a little distant from the North Sea. In the yeere 1575. or 1576. one John Oxnam of Plimouth, going into the West Indies, joyned with the Symarons. These are fugitive Negroes, and for the bad intreatie which their Masters had given them, were then retired into the Mountaines, and lived upon the spoyle of such Spaniards, as they could master, and could never bee brought into obedience, till by composition they had a place limited them for their freedome, where they should live quietly by themselves. At this day they have a great habitation neere Panama, called Saint Iago de los Negros, well peopled, with all their Officers and Commanders of their owne, save onely a Spanish Governour.

[IV. vii. 1414.]

John Oxnams Voyage to the South Sea.

What the Symarons are.

Their habitation.

Their assistance.

By the assistance of these Symarons, hee brought to the head of this River, by piecemeale, and in many Journeyes a small Pinnace, hee fitted it by time in warlike manner, and with the choice of his Companie, put himselfe into the South Sea, where his good happe, was

to meete with a couple of shippes of trade, and in the one of them a great quantitie of Gold. And amongst other things two pieces of speciall estimation, the one a Table of massy Gold, with Emralds, sent for a present to the King; the other a Lady of singular beautie, married, and a mother of children. The latter grew to bee his perdition: for hee had capitulated with these Symarons, that their part of the bootie, should be onely the prisoners, to the end to execute their malice upon them, such was the rancour they had conceived against them, for that they had beene the Tyrants of their libertie. But the Spaniards not contented to have them their slaves; who lately had beene their Lords, added to their servitude, cruell intreaties. And they againe to feede their insatiable revenges, accustomed to roast and eate the hearts of all those Spaniards, whom at any time they could lay hand upon.

John Oxnam capitulateth with them.

John Oxnam (I say) was taken with the love of this Lady, and to winne her good will, what through her teares and perswasions, and what through feare and detestation of their barbarous inclinations; breaking promise with the Symarons, yeelded to her request, which was, to give the prisoners libertie with their shippes; for that they were not usefull for him: notwithstanding Oxnam kept the Lady, who had in one of the restored shippes, either a Sonne, or a Nephew. This Nephew with the rest of the Spaniards, made all the haste they could to Panama, and they used such diligence, as within few houres, some were dispatched to seeke those, who little thought so quickly to bee overtaken. The pursuers approaching the River, were doubtfull by which of the afore-remembred three mouthes, they should take their way. In this wavering one of the Souldiers espied certaine feathers, &c.

His folly, and Breach of promise.

His pursuit. See the Storie before. This is added of later intelligence.

Comming in sight of the Ilands of Pearles, the winde beganne to fresh in with us, and wee profited our selves of it: but comming thwart of a small Iland, which they call La Pacheta, that lieth within the Pearle Ilands, close

La Pacheta.

aboord the Mayne, and some eight or tenne leagues South and by West from Panama, the winde calmed againe.

This Iland belongeth to a private man, it is a round humocke, contayning not a league of ground, but most fertile. Insomuch that by the owners industrie, and the labour of some few slaves, who occupie themselves in manuring it; and two Barkes, which he employeth in bringing the fruit it giveth, to Panama; it is said to be worth him every weeke, one with another, a barre of silver; valued betwixt two hundreth and fiftie, or three hundreth Pezos: which in English money, may amount to fiftie or threescore pound: and for that, which I saw at my being in Panama, touching this, I hold to be true.

In our course to fetch the Port of Panama, we put our selves betwixt the Ilands and the Main: which is a goodly Channell, of three, foure, and five leagues broad, and without danger; except a man come too neere the shoare on any side; and that is thought the better course, then to goe a Sea-boord of the Ilands, because of the swift running of the tides, and the advantage to stop the ebbe: As also for succour, if a man should happen to be becalmed at any time beyond expectation; which happeneth sometimes.

The seventh of July wee had sight of Perico; they are two little Ilands, which cause the Port of Panama, where all the shippes use to ride; It is some two Leagues West North-west of the Citie, which hath also a Pere in it selfe for small Barkes, at full Sea it may have some sixe or seven foot water, but at lowe water, it is drie.

The Generall certifieth the Audiencia of his successe.

The great joy of the Spaniards.

The ninth of July wee anchored under Perico, and the Generall presently advised the Audiencia, of that which had succeeded in his Journey: which understood by them, caused Bonfires to be made, and every man to put Luminaries in their houses; the fashion is much used amongst the Spaniards in their feasts of joy, or for glad tidings; placing many lights in their Churches, in their windowes, and Galleries, and corners of their houses;

which being in the beginning of the night, and the Citie close by the Sea shoare, shewed to us (being farre off) as though the Citie had beene on a light fire.

About eight of the clocke all the Artilerie of the Citie was shot off, which wee might discerne by the flash of fire, but could not heare the report: yet the Armado being advised thereof, and in a readinesse, answered them likewise with all their Artilerie: which taking end (as all the vanities of this earth doe) The Generall setled himselfe to dispatch advice for the King, for the Vice-roy of Peru, and the Vice-roy of Nova Spana, for hee also had beene certified of our being in that Sea, and had fitted an Armado to seeke us, and to guard his coast. [IV. vii. 1415.]

But now for a farewell, (and note it) Let mee relate unto you this Secret; How Don Beltran shewed mee a Letter from the King his Master, directed to the Vice-roy, wherein hee gave him particular relation of my pretended Voyage; of the shippes; their burden; their munition; their number of men, which I had in them, as perfectly as if hee had seene all with his owne eyes; Saying unto mee: Hereby you may discerne, whether the King my Master have friends in England, and good and speedy advice of all that passeth. Whereunto I replyed; It was no wonder, for that hee had plenty of Gold and Silver, which worketh this and more strange effects: for my Journey was publique and notorious to all the Kingdome, whereunto he replyed, that if I thought it so convenient, leave should be given me to write into England to the Queens Majestie my Mistresse, to my Father, and to other personages, as I thought good; and leaving the Letters open; that hee would send some of them, in the Kings Packet, others to his Uncle Don Rodrigo de Castro, Cardinall and Archbishop of Sevill, and to other friends of his: Not making any doubt but that they would bee speedily in England. For which I thanked him, and accepted his courtesie, and although I was my selfe unable to write, yet by the hands of a servant of mine, I wrote three or foure copies of one Letter to my Father, Sir John Hawkins. In which I

Note.

English treacherie procured by Spanish Gold.

I have this letter translated into Spanish, and printed by them; together with the discourse of the whole action, much agreeing with this, except where they lust to magnifie their Spanish worth.

briefly made relation of all that had succeeded in our Voyage.

The dispatches of Spaine and New Spaine, went by ordinarie course in ships of advice; but that for the Peru was sent by a kinsman of the Generals, called Don Francisco de la Cuena. Which being dispatched, Don Beltran hasted all that ever he could, to put his ships in order, to returne to Lyma. Hee caused the Daintie to be grounded and trimmed, for in those Ilands it higheth and falleth some fifteene or sixteene foot water.

The Daintie named the Visitation.

And the Generall with his Captaines, and some Religious men being aboord her, and new naming her, named her the Visitation; for that shee was rendred on the day, on which they celebrate the Visitation of the Virgin Marie. In that place the ground being plaine, and without vantage (whereby to helpe the tender sided and sharpe Ships) they are forced to shoare them on either side. In the middest of their solemnitie, her props and shores of one side sayled and so shee fell over upon that side suddenly, intreating many of them (which were in her) very badly, and doubtlesse had shee beene like the ships of the South Sea, shee had broken out her bulge: but being without Masts and emptie (for in the South Sea, when they bring aground a shippe, they leave neither Mast, Balast, nor any other thing aboord, besides the bare Hull) her strength was such, as it made no great showe to have received any domage, but the feare shee put them all into was not little, and caused them to runne out of her faster then a pace.

In these Ilands is no succour, nor refreshing; onely in the one of them is one house of straw, and a little spring of small moment. For the water which the Shippes use for their provision, they fetch from another Iland, two leagues West North-west of these; which they call Tabaga, having in it some fruit and refreshing, and some few Indians to inhabite it.

What succeeded to mee, and to the rest during our Imprisonment, with the rarities and particularities of the Peru, and Tierra firme, my voyage to Spaine, and

the successe, with the time I spent in prison in the Peru, in the Tercera, in Sevill, and in Madrid, with the accidents which befell mee in them; I leave for a second part of this discourse, if God give life, and convenient place and rest, necessarie for so tedious and troublesome a worke: desiring God that is Almightie, to give his blessing to this and the rest of my intentions: that it and they may be fruitfull, to his glorie, and to the good of all: then shall my desires bee accomplished, and I account my selfe most happie. To whom be all glory, and thankes from all eternitie.

Chap. VI.

A briefe Note written by Master John Ellis, one of the Captaines with Sir Richard Hawkins, in his Voyage through the Strait of Megelan, begunne the ninth of Aprill, 1593. concerning the said Straite, and certaine places, on the coast and Inland of Peru.

He second of Februarie, 1593. wee fell with the Land of Terra Australis, in 50. degrees fiftie five leagues off the Straite of Magelan, which Land lay East and by North, or East North-east from the Straite, which is a part of Terra Australis: from which Land wee entred the Straite upon the West South-west course: then we ran ten leagues West North-west, other ten leagues West South-west, then eight leagues South-west, and came to an anchor on the starboord side, in a hooke where you may moore any ship in twelve fathomes water. From thence we ranne South-west and by South seven leagues, where we came to an Iland called, Penguin Iland, and tooke in five or sixe tunnes of Penguins, and flayed them, and salted them. Thence twelve leagues South South-west, and found good riding in twelve fathoms, fine sand: from thence to Port Famine, the new Towne of Pedro Sarmiento, five leagues [IV. vii. 1416.]

Penguin Iland.

Port Famine.

South-west. Then West North-west sixteene leagues, where we anchored in good riding. Then North-west and by West, till wee came to the River of Genevera, on the starboord side eight leagues. Then five leagues North-west. Then North-west and by West thirtie leagues, till wee came out of the Straite, which is in length one hundred and eleven leagues. The mouth or entrance of the Straite is in thirtie two degrees and an halfe, and the Out-let is in the same heigth. The middle is in fiftie foure degrees and a terce.

The River of Genevera.

After wee were come out of the Straite wee went away North-west and by North fortie leagues into the Sea: then North, untill wee came to the Iland of Mocha, which is in thirtie eight degrees and thirtie minutes, where we had good trade with the People. This Ile is three leagues long, where great reliefe, of Mutton, Mais, and other things may bee had from the Indians. This Ile is twelve leagues from the mayne Land. From thence wee went North, and past by the Ile of Saint Marie: from thence unto Valparaiso, which standeth in thirtie three degrees, into which Haven I went with our Boate, and tooke foure shippes, in which wee had Wines, and other good provision: and there wee remayned the space of twelve dayes. And in this time I went on shoare, and tooke five houses, which were full of Wine, and other good things: And in this time there came a shippe by the harbour, which the Generall went to take, but hee did not: yet I with twelve men did take her, and within one houre the Generall came to us. The shippe had clothes of Cotton for men to weare, of the Indian making, and some Gold.

Mocha.

Santa Maria.

Valparaso.

Gold.

Valparaiso is a Port and a in the bottome of the Bay, where they make excellent Wine. From thence eighteene leagues into the Land is Saint Iago, a great Towne of Spaniards. From thence wee passed to Arica, which is in twentie degrees, as I take it. All this Coast lieth North and South. From thence wee passed to Pisco and Chincha, where the Generall, and the Master Hugh Cornish, went to goe on shoare, but they did not. Heere

Arica.

Pisco.

Chinca.

wee met with sixe of the Kings shippes, which came to seeke us: but at that time wee escaped them. These places are in fourteene degrees and an halfe. From thence wee passed by the Citie of Lima, which is in twelve degrees and an halfe. From thence by Paita, which is an Haven, and a Towne, and standeth in five degrees. From thence wee passed by the Equinoctiall Line, and went to Atacame, where wee were taken, the two and twentieth of June, 1594. This place is in one degree to the Northward of the Line. There is from thence some eight leagues, a Bay called, The Bay of Saint Matthew. From thence wee were carried unto Panama, which is in nine degrees to the Northward of the Line: where wee were held Prisoners. From Panama wee were returned to Payta, and so to Lima. Lima is neere as bigge as London within the walls: the houses are of Lome baked, for want of Stone. There are neere twentie thousand Negros in Lima. There are in it of Horsemen an hundred Launces, and an hundred Carbiners, at a thousand Ducats a man by the yeere. From Lima I went to Gnamanga, which is a good Citie sixtie leagues from Lima, to the South-east. Twelve leagues from Lima Eastward it raineth, but never at Lima. Twentie leagues more Southerly, towards Gnamanga, at Paricacco, which is a Mountaine, it is as cold as in England in our winter: But none will dwell there, because of the cold. Then is the Valley of Choosa having Hills on both sides, and a River in the middest. The Valley is eighteene leagues long, and well peopled, and hath divers Townes: it is fortie leagues from Lima, and so through that I travelled to Gnamanga.

Sixe of the Kings ships.
Lima.
Paita.
Atacame.
Baia de Santo Mateo.
Panama.
Paita.
Lima.
Gnamanga.

From Gnamanga wee passed towards Cusco on hard wayes cut out of the Rockes by Gnamacapo, with great difficultie by the wayes there are Tamboes or houses to lodge people, and some Villages. Then wee came to Cusco, which is a Citie about the bignesse of Bristow, without a wall, having a Castle halfe a mile off on the side of an Hill, builded with stones of twentie tuns weight strangely joyned without morter. From Lima

Cusco.

they trade to Cusco all that comes out of Spaine. They of Quito trade to Cusco, with wollen Cloth and Cottons: for Quito hath abundance of sheepe about it, and is a great Citie. They drive sheepe to Lima twentie thousand in a Flocke, and be halfe a yeere in the Passage.

Potosi. Betweene Cusco and Potosi there is continuall trade, and the Lords or Caciquoes of the Naturals will entertaine you in the way, feed you in Silver vessell, and give you very good lodging, and if they like you, they will guide you with three or foure hundred Indians.

In Potosi there are at worke neere an hundred thousand Indians, which the Caciquoes bring in for so many dayes to worke the Mynes; and then other Caciquoes bring in as many more.

I have also two Letters written by Thomas Sanders servant to Sir Richard Hawkins, written to Sir John Hawkins out of the prison of Saint Lucar; in one of which hee maketh a large relation of their Voyage and taking (which is here needlesse to reiterate) with mention of one Master Lucas, condemned by the Holy House to the Gallies, and sent to Nombre de Dios, in which Voyage hee died: out of the other I have hither added this transcript touching the usage and respect which Sir Richard Hawkins found in Peru.

Master Lucas sonne to Master Tho. Lucas. [IV. vii. 1417.]

This is part of another Letter. I wrote in like sort of my Masters health, and of his entertaynment in his taking, and in the Citie of Lima by the Vice-king of the Countrey, and how hee was beloved for his valour, by all brave men in those parts, the which I learned by many which came from thence, as well rich as poore, and many Negroes, servants to Merchants, which came from thence, and were there when hee came. Hee was received by all the best in the Countrie, carried by them to a Princely house all richly hanged, the which hee had to himselfe, with a great allowance from the King, besides many presents from the Queene: but within sixe or seven dayes hee was carried by the Fathers to the Holy House, not as a man to

be executed, but to rest there untill they heard from the King what should be done with them. &c.

Having occasion here to mention Sir John Hawkins, I thought good, in memorie of his name, to expresse a Pardon from the Spanish King Philip the second, to him, and to the Master George Fitzwilliams, and the rest of their companie, both for the forme thereof, (being here printed from the Originall, superscribed and subscribed with the Kings owne hand) and to shew the strict prohibition of Trade in the Indies.

El Rey.

POr quanto por parte de Juan Aquins y Jorge Fitzwilliams Ingleses por si yen nombre de todos los demas Ingleses que han ydo y estado ensu compania, enlo que de yuso sedira, nos hasido hecha relaceon que noenbar gante lo que por nos esta prohibido yordenado paraque ningun estrangero yque no sea natural destos nostros Reynos, naveque, trate, ni contrate enla carrera de las Indias, ni enlos puertos y lugares dellas, Los susudichos han entrado y navegado, tratado y contratado enla dicha carrera y puertos y lugares della, y porque su intencion no ha sido dervirnos ni offender ni damnificar, a nostros Vasallos, y por que como sabiamos su desseo yuo luntad avia sido de nos servir end tiempo que est uvimos enel Reyne de Inglaterra, nos han pedido y supplicado que usando de clemencia y de benignidad conellos hiziesemos merced de perdonalles la culpa y penas en que avian incurrido, y nos por justas causas y consirationes que aello nos mueven y por les hazer merced lo avemos tenido por bien. Y por la presente les pardonamos y remitimos todos y qualesquier penas en que por razon de aver entrado y navegado enla dicha carrera de las Indias y tractado y contractado enlos puertos y lugares dellas hasta agora ayan incurrido, y queremos que en la dicha razon no puedanser acusados ni molestados, ni por esta razon ni causa puedan contra ellos proceder los del nuestro conceso de las Indias, ni los

juezes de la casa dela contratation, ni otros algunos. Porque nostra merced y voluntad es de les remitir como les remitimos todas las dichas penas, y de les librar, como les libramos y damos por libres y quitos dellas, bien assi como sienellas no huvieran caydo ni incurrido, no embargantes qualesquiera leyes, ordenanças, provisiones y cedulas que en razon delo suso dicho ayamos hecho y dado, con quales quiere clausulas que enellas aya, o, haver pueda, las quales todas paraen quanto alo suso dicho las abrogamos y derogamos, aviendolas aque por expressadas & insertas de Verbo ad verbum, quedando en sufuerça y vigor quanto alodemas. El qual dicho perdon, gracia y remission quiremos que se entienda y estienda no solo alos dhos Juan Aquins y Jorge Fitzwilliams, pero a todos los demas Ingleses queensu compania savydo conque esto see y se entienda ser enrespecto delo passado, pero que por esto no seavisto permitirles ni darseles licencia paraque de aqui adelante puedan sin nuestra expressa y particular licencia, navegar tratar y contratar enla dicha carrera, y que si lo hesieren, demas de incurrir en las penas contenidas en nuestras leyes ordenanças, cartas y provisiones, este pardon y gracia sea y ayadeser ninguno y de ningun valor y effecto, y mandamos alos del nostro conseio delas Indias y alos nostros Juezes y Officiales de la casa dela contratacion y a otras quales quier Juezes y Justicias que assilo guarden y cumplan, fecha enel monastero de Sanct Lorenço el real a diez dias del mes de Agusto, anno del Sennor de mill y quinien tos y setenta y un annos.

YEL REY.

Por mandado de su Mag.

S. Antonio Gracian.

V. Md. perdonea Juano Aquins Ingles y asus compañeros le pena enque incurrienzo por aver navegado, y contrado enlas Indeas contra las ordenes de V. Md.

Chap. VII.

[VI. vii. 1418.]

A briefe Relation of an * Englishman which had beene thirteene yeeres Captive to the Spaniards in Peru, &c.

*I found this paper amongst others of Master Hakl. without the name of the Author.

THe eleventh of October, 1602. we departed from the Citie of Lyma, and that day wee set sayle from the Calloa, in the Contadora, Captaine Andrea Brocho. The fifteenth of October wee came into Payta, and there watered, and tooke in fresh victuals: and set sayle from thence the foure and twentieth of the same, for Mexico, 1602. *Lima.* *Payta.*

The fourteenth of December we came to an anchor in Acapulca, we were becalmed in 17. degrees and an halfe, foure and twentie dayes, and were set with the current into 23. degrees to the Northward, we came all the coast alongst from Colyma and Navydad to Acapulca. The twentieth of December we came from Acapulca, with sixe Mules: and on Christmas Day in the morning we came to Zumpanga, a Towne of Indians, where wee remayned all that day being betweene this Towne and Acapulca thirtie leagues, no Towne betwixt. The last of December wee came to Querna vaca a Towne in the Marquesado of Hernan Cortes, thirteene leagues from Mexico. *Acapulca.* *Zumpanga.*

The first of Januarie we came into the great Citie of Mexico, where we remayned untill the seventeenth, at which time we came from Mexico, in the evening, and came two leagues that night. The next day we came to Irazing, which is seven leagues from Mexico, where wee remayned two dayes. The five and twentieth of Januarie wee came to Pueblo de los Angelos, passing in our way the Vulcan being from Mexico twentie leagues, and thorow Chullula. The thirtieth of Januarie I went to Atrizco, where we were sixe dayes, being five leagues from Mexico. *Mexico.* *Atrizco.*

Angeles. *Vera Cruz.* The sixteenth of Februarie we came from the Pueblo de los Angelos, with fourteene Carts, five or sixe temes of Oxen in a Cart, for to come to the Citie of Vera cruz.

The seventh of March, 1603. wee came into the Vera cruz, the new Towne, where wee remayned untill the eight of Aprill, staying for a ship of advise.

Saint J. de Ullua. Tuesday the eight of Aprill, we set sayle from Saint Ivo de Ullua, in a Barque of advise called, the Saint Lazaro, the Captaines name was Diego Garces, being of the burden of thirtie tunnes, the Pilot named Diego Vyedall, we were eight and twentie persons. 1603. The nine and twentieth of Aprill we had sight of the Martyrs, and were in two fathomes water, off them we saw no more nor no other, while we fell with Alla Rocha in Barbarie, which was the 14. of June.

The sixteenth of June wee had sight of Chiprone, and Cales, that night we came into S. Lucar. The seventeenth of June in the morning, the Kings Officers came aboord of us for the Kings Letters, and the Letters of the Mexico Fleet: where I heard newes of our good Queene Elizabeths death, and our King James his comming to the Crowne in peace. Heere I was discharged, and had my libertie given me, so I went to Syvill the nineteenth day, where I remayned untill the one and twentieth of September: at which time I came to Wellua in the Condado.

The fift of November I came from Wellua in the George of London. Master Juano Whary, the ship was Master Hangers. I arrived at the Recullvers the seventh of December, 1603. being since my departure from England thirteene yeeres and nine moneths of captivitie for the which the Lord be praised, and make me thankfull all the dayes of my life. Amen.

Chap. VIII.

The Relation of Alexandro Ursino concerning the coast of Terra Firma, and the secrets of Peru, and Chili, where he had lived foure and thirtie yeeres.

He first Towne inhabited of the Spaniards is Saint John in the Ile of Porto ricco, it is a very poore Town. They have no Bread, but in stead thereof they use a certaine Roote called Cazave. There is in the Towne about sixtie Spaniards, and a Fort. In Saint Domingo there is a very strong Fort with above eightie great Peeces of Ordnance. It is one of the fairest Cities in all the Indies: there are above seven hundred Spaniards in it. It is a Bishoprike. There is next the Towne of Monte Christo, wherein there are about eightie Spaniards. There is a small Fort. Then Ocoa, which is a very good Port, where the Fleete both comming and going, doe put in for fresh water and wood, and other necessaries. Then Porto de Plata, a small Towne, with a little Fort, about seventie or eightie Spaniards. Porto Reale, a dishabited Towne, but a very good Port. There is nothing else in the Ile of Spagnola, of any importance. There are above 22000. Negros, men and women, slaves. *Saint Domingo.*

From Saint Domingo to Jamaica, an hundred leagues in this Ile there is but one Towne, which standeth three leagues within the Land. There are in it about fiftie Spaniards. In all these places they make Sugar in great abundance, but especially at Saint Domingo there are above eightie Ingenios, or Sugar-houses. They have neither Silver, nor Gold. They eate of the foresaid Roote for Bread in every place. The Ile of Spaniola is inhabited onely by the Spaniards, there is not one Naturall of the Countrey. [IV. vii. 1419.] *Iamaica.* *Not one naturall in Hispaniola.*

From Jamaica to Cartagena one hundred leagues. This *Cartagena.*

Cartagena is a faire Citie, a very strong Fort in the Haven mouth and Artilerie in three parts of the Towne. A Bishoprike. They have neither Silver nor Gold: there are about 150. Spaniards. Next to this is Tulu inhabited of the Spaniards about fortie or fiftie: it is eighteene leagues from Cartagena alongst the coast.

Saint Martha. Then Santa Martha, a Citie with a small Fort, about 100. Spaniards: there they gather great quantity of Gold very fine: they are a fierce people. Santa Martha is fiftie leagues from Cartagena alongst the same coast.

Nombre de dios. Upon the same coast is Nombre de dios about seventie leagues from Cartagena, they have no Fort but upon the haven side: there lyeth foure peeces of Artillary: there are in it about sixtie Spaniards. It is under the

Veragua. government of Panama. Then Veragua, about seventie or eightie Spaniards: they gather great store of Gold above a million and a halfe yearely. Upon the same coast about one hundred leagues from Veragua, lieth

Costa rica. a towne called Costa ricca, inhabited onely of the naturals: they gather great store of Gold.

Over against Nombre de Dios on the other Sea of

Panama. Sur lyeth the Citie of Panama, eighteene leagues distant from thence: there is an Audience, and a President, and an Archbishop: there are about foure hundred Spaniards; it is a very rich towne, full of treasure; all the Gold and Silver that commeth out of those parts into Spaine, commeth by that towne: they have no Fort but foure peeces of Ordnance that lye upon the Haven; but to returne to the coast of the ocean Sea. From Cartagena Eastwards there is a River called Rio de Lahache, upon this River a prettie towne, with two hundred Spaniards, where is gathered great abundance of Pearle, about one million every yeare: there is a little Fort.

A little beyond that you come to Baxemete, which

Venesuela. is in the government of Valenzuola, and Barbaruta, three leagues within land. Then Tocuo five leagues within land. Then Margarita with a strong Fort, in all these

places is gathered most fine Gold. Nombre de Dios, Cartagena, Santa Martha, Tulu, Rio de Lahache, Veragua, Barbaruta, these have bin spoiled two or three times by the Frenchmen.

Margarita is the utmost Towne of the Spaniards upon that coast, from whence passing into the Countrie, about foure dayes journey we came to Granada, a towne in the government of Valenzuola, from thence to Trugillo, which is the utmost towne of that Province. So to Villetta, where beginneth the Nuevo Regno de Granada, Vele Pampelona, Ocagna, Tunza, a proper Citie with foure hundred Spaniards. Santa Fe del Nuevo Regno di Granado, the principall Citie of the Kingdome, five hundred Spaniards: an Archbishop, a President, and an Audientia; Tocayma, Ayuage, Cartago, Arma, Caramanta, Santa Fe di Antiochia, Anzerma, Cali, Buga, Popaya, a government. Aymage, Mocoa, Scanze, Timana, La Plata, Neva, Pasto. The end of the new Kingdome of Granada. In all these Cities is gathered great abundance of Gold. *Granada.*

Quito the first Citie of the Kingdome of Peru. There is a President, an Audience, and a Bishop. Riobamba, the Government of the Squisos, Avila, Baeza, Acedonia, Tomibamba, Guaiaquill a Port towne in Mar del Sur, la Punta di Santa Helena, Porto viejo in Spanish, Manta in Indian, Paita, Port Townes. Cosibamba. The government of John di Salma, Sarigra, Saint Jacomo de las Valles, Santa Maria de las neues, Valladolid, Combinama, Zaem, in these six townes is gathered the greatest quantitie of Gold and the finest of all the Country of Peru. Chachapoia, Moiobamba, Guanico upon the Sea, Malabrigo, the port of Trugillo. Trugillo is two leagues within the port of Reque, Santa, Casma, Guagnara, Chancai, Lima, Cagnette, Ica, Camana (Arequipa, Quilca and Chuli, ports of Arequipa) Arica, all these are upon the Sea coast of Peru, Guamanga and Guancavallica, where they gather all the Quick-silver above five millions every yeare: the Citie of Cusco, the chiefe Citie of the King- *Quito.*

dome of Peru, Choguiago, Choquisaca, Potossi, and Porco, where all the Silver is gathered in the Kingdome of Peru. And this is the end of the Kingdome of Peru.

Tucama. In the Province of Tuquema, subject to Peru, Tuquema the principall Citie of the Province. Saint Jacomo de las Torres, Arrian, Calchaqui. In the Province of Chiriguana, subject to Peru. Santa cruze de la Sera. In the

Chili. Province of Chili alongst the coast; Tarapaqua, Ilo, Copiape, Coquimba, la Serena, S. Jacomo, La conception, Cuyo, la Imperiala, Paraiso, Valdivia, Ozorno. From Margarita or Barburata to Sancta Fe del nuevo regno di granada is 300. leagues by land, the ordinary way. From Santa Fe to Quito 250. leagues. From Quito to Lima 300. leagues. From Lima to Chognisaca, or Potossi, or Porco 300. leagues. From Potossi to Copiapo chiefe Citie of Chili 500. leagues. And these are ordinary travailed waies.

Potossi and Porco. There are in Potossi and Porco 300. mines of the Spaniards, and 5000. of the Indians. The Silver that is for the King (which is supposed to be two millions) and all the rest that is sent into Spaine is brought upon Sheepes backes unto Arica or Port of Peru from thence by Sea into Lima. A Sheepe will carry 100. li. three leagues in one day.

[IV. vii. 1420.] The Gold that is gathered in Chili, the Kings part which is about a million, and of others a million and a halfe is brought by Sea unto Lima. All the Gold and Silver that comes to Lima is about twelve millions, from thence it comes to Panama, from Panama by land to Nombre de Dios, from thence by Sea to Cartagena. The Gold that comes out of the new Kingdome of Granada and the Province of John di Salina is brought by a River to Cartagena. So that at Cartagena there is laden out of those parts for Spaine every yeare of the Kings about five millions, and as much of other Merchants.

Five millions laden at Cartagena yearely of the Kings, and as much of other Merchants.

In all the Country of Chili there are not above 1300. Spaniards. In Arica 100. Spaniards. Arequipa is 17. leagues distant from Chuli or Quilca the ports: it hath

Arequipa.

about 200. Spaniards. In Lima 1000. Spaniards. In Seutu 100. Spaniards. In Trugillo 200. it is a very wealthy towne (the Port of it Malabrigo two leagues from Trugillo.) The Citie of Cusco is bigger then Rome: *Cusco.* there is a Bishop and about 1000. Spaniards. They have the Inquisition in Lima. In Payta which is the harborough for all the Fleete for fresh provision: there are 100. men. Porto Viejo, is also another harborough where the Fleete taketh in fresh victuals. There are not three Spaniards in the towne, but about five leagues off there is a small towne called Mantu, where there are but 50. Spaniards. In Panama 400. In February the Silver comes from Potossi and Porco to Lima: about the same time the Ships returne from Chili to Lima with Gold.

In Aprill they set forth from Lima foure Ships, and in fifteene dayes they arrive at Panama. From the point Saint Helen to Copiapo it never raineth: this dry tract extendeth from the Sea coast into the Country in some places 40. miles, in some places 50. and in sundry parts of the Country it is so hot that no man can endure it, and within sixe miles of that place so cold againe, that it is inough to kill any man. This strange tract extends 1200. leagues. In the Citie of Lima and Trugillo there grow Oranges, Pomgranets, Citrons and Melons, bigger farre then those of these parts.

La Loma de Camana is a very fertile soile, yeelding abundance of grasse, which beginneth at Camana and passeth by Quilca towards Chuli eighteene leagues from Camana. The same Loma, is in some part within a mile of the Sea and in some other places a league off from the Sea. The same Loma is in breadth in some places halfe a league, and in other places a league, which is the greatest breadth that it beareth.

Betweene this Loma de Camana and the Sea, is nothing growing but barren sands and stones. And within the said Loma, is also barren for the space of eight or ten

leagues. And in all the said circuit both of the Loma, and from it to the Sea, and also in towards the land the said distance of eight or ten leagues it never raineth. But farder into the Land where the hils and mountaines are, there it raineth and sometimes snoweth.

A di 24. Luglio 1581.

Alessandro Orsino Romano antico dico che son de tempo de cinquanta uno agnos. Io son stado Trenta quatro agnos nel regno del Peru, e ho caminado todo el regno.

Chap. IX.

Notes of the West Indies, gathered out of Pedro Ordonnes de Cevallos a Spanish Priest, his larger observations.

Anta Fe de Bogota, is the Mother Citie of the New Kingdome of Granada, an Archbishops See, and of the Chamber. Muso is subject to it, where is store of the best Emeralds taken out of a rocke, which a long time cannot waste. The fifth thereof is of inestimable value to the King. An Indian found there a stone which was sent to King Phillip, and his daughter Clara Eugenia, the price whereof was above all price, nor could the Goldsmiths value it. In Saint Juan de los llanos are men with white faces. In all the Kingdome the townes are very frequent. There are above 14000. Negroes which worke in the Mines there.

Emeralds.

14000. *Negros.*

Wine and Asses deare.

In Quito two things are deere, Wine, which is worth eight Rials a quart, if brought from Lima, and twelve from Spaine: and Asses, of which one hath beene worth 1500. Pesos, and that for the store of Mares in those parts. It is a proverbe, What is dearest in Quito? An Asse. In Lima no houses are covered with roofes, bee they never so large, because they never have raine. No Citie in India is richer then it.

Quito. Lima.

Out of Potosi are yeerely gathered great treasures. Over the top of this Mountaine alway hangs a cloud, even in the cleerest dayes, as it were marking and pointing out the riches thereof. It riseth in forme of a Pyramis, three leagues high, environed with cold ayre. At the foot is the Citie Potosi, inhabited by twentie thousand Spanish men, and ten thousand women, as many Negroes, and foure thousand Indians. Within six leagues about is no pasture of grasse, so that to it, Wood, and Corne are brought from other places. The entrance and Myne-works are so dangerous, that they which goe in, use to take the Sacrament of the Altar, as if they went to their death, because few returne. The Earle of Villar made a proclamation, that all the Indians should have leave and libertie to labour in this Myne, and to have foure Rialls a day for each mans worke, which they were before forced to doe for nothing; since which the King hath received greater profit. The King receiveth thence yeerely eight or ten millions of Silver. The metalls lie two hundred Strades* (or mans heights) beneath the earth. Raine is very needfull for the Myne-workes, which usually falls about Christmasse. Then the President of Charcas comes thither (as also to have care of the Quick-silver) that in Februarie and March they may be readie for Lima. Chile hath two Bishoprickes, of Chile and Saint Iago. It brings forth the fruits of Castile, greater then Spaine it selfe. There are many Gold Mynes, if the Auracan Indians could be compelled to the workes, which doe our men great harmes. I went into Chile from Peru, and thence returned to Quito.

Potosi and the Mines.

Preciosa pericula.

[IV. vii. 1421.]

**The Latine word is Stadia, which in ordinary sense were 25. miles.*

Auracanes not subject.

Mexico is as great as Sivill. There dwell in it three thousand Spaniards, many more women, two hundred thousand Indians, twentie thousand Negros. The Natives are capable of Arts and Discipline. They very much honour Priests, Monkes, and Regulars, and when the Bell rings to Sermon, the Indian Boyes run up and downe the streets crossing their fore-heads. When they

Mexico.

Respect to Priests.

goe out of the Church, they cry, Blessed be our Lord Jesus Christ, and blessed bee his Mother Saint Marie; the Priest answeres, For ever, and they, Amen. They *Deare Masse.* are liberall Almes-givers; to mee saying Masse, I remember they gave an hundred Duckets. D. Martin Cortez Marquesse of the Vallie, was author of this reverence to Priests by his owne example, which would stand still bare headed, till a Priest were past, and sometimes would goe forth to meet him and kisse his hand. In New Spaine is such store of cattell, that one man often kills one thousand Beeves, and as many Goates, *Hides.* and sends their hides into Spaine. The Magurie tree *Maguey tree.* or Cabuya yeelds Wine, Vineger, Hony, Beds, Threads, Needles (out of the prickles of the leaves), Tables and hafts of Knives besides many medicinable uses. From Mexico to Acapulpo the Haven on the South Sea, are ninetie leagues, and well inhabited.

The Viceroy of Peru. The Vice-roy is President at the Court at Lima, and Governor and Captaine Generall of that Territory, and of Charcas and Quito. He hath fortie thousand Duckets salary, and the charges of Warre are paid by the King. The Territory of Lima containeth in circuit three hundred *Callao.* leagues. Callao is the Port, two leagues from Lima, the chiefe in all the South Sea, where the Vice-roy useth to abide much for furnishing the Fleets which carry the treasure.

The Mynes of Oruto are given over for want of Quick-silver, or as some say, lest the Inhabitants of *Saint Philip of Austria.* Potosi should remove thither. Guacouelica hath rich Silver Mynes, which yeerely yeeld eight thousand Quintals. But some Mountaines falling have stopped the mynings. Saint Francis of Quito is under the line very temperate, three hundred leagues from Lima. There is a Chancery, Bishop, Deane, and University. The Territory of this Court extends two hundred and sixtie leagues. Neere the Citie are many burning Hills.

Indian government. There is a twofold government in the Indies, one of Spaniards, which is the same with that of Spaine; the

other of Indians. The Spaniards in these parts neither plow the ground, nor worke in the Mynes, especiall there where they are accounted gentlemen. Scarcesly shal you find any Spanish youth, which will betake himselfe to the service of any man, except the Vice-roy. They trade with Merchandise, are set over the Kings Rents, Garrisons, and Myners. *Spaniards life.*

The Indians are base minded. They solemnize the Feasts of the Sacrament, Easter, and Midsomerday, with Dances, Musicke, Processions, and in the Temples religiously. On Mandy Thursday they are all chastised. In guilds they are observant. On a certaine day they are compelled to render account of all their goods and possessions. They procure Masses at Funeralls. They are generally wittie, liers, and strong drinkers. They will drinke two or three days together closly, and sometimes a whole weeke. Their Feasts are like the Negros with songs and dances. With these Rites they say they pray for the dead. They never make an end, till they have spent all, and then they returne to their labours. They are very expert in the Arts which they learne, although it be writing or reading, which yet is not granted them to learne. They pay yeerely to their Governours a certaine tribute of Silver and other things, after they are eighteene yeeres old, till fiftie. The Commendator receiveth these things, conditionally to maintaine a Priest and a Corrigidor, and to pay the tenths to the Church. This and other places are there given for two lives, the sonne or eldest daughter succeeding. The Corrigidors amongst the Indians are prohibited merchandise. A Visitor is appointed in every Court to goe to the places of that Precinct to enquire of affaires, and to decide controversies. *Indian disposition and state.* *Justice itinerant.*

The number of Mesticos is great, which wander up and downe poore and beggarly, nor give their minds to learne any handicrafts. It were good they were forced to labour. *Mestizos.*

A Councell celebrated at Lima, 1583, in the third *Indian Provinciall Councell.*

Session, Chap. 22, approved of the Pope and our King, decreed that wheresoever one thousand Indians are found together, a Teacher and Priest should be set over them. The Indians Priests use at the Kings charges to carrie with them many religious men: and the Jesuites by the supreme Councell of India, with advise of the B.B. are commanded to send many thither for the Bishops assistance.

[IV. vii. 1422.] *Ecclesiasticall Revenues.*

The Rents and Tenths of Bishoprickes are devided into foure parts, one of which goeth to the Bishop, a second to the Deane and Chapiter, so as the Deanes proportion is 150. the dignities 130. the Canons 100. The third and fourth part are divided into nine shares called Ninths, of which two returne to the King, and are bestowed on the buildings of Cathedrall Churches; another ninth and halfe on the Fabrickes, another ninth and halfe on the Hospitall buildings, the fourth remayning are paid to the Vicars, Singers, Organists and other Church Officers. What remayneth is spent on the Fabrickes. All are laid out by the Bishops order. In my judgement it were very good if every Bishoprick had Seminaries and Colledges wherein the children of their Caciques and chiefe men might be educated, to be maintayned by the Caciques.

Seminaries.

The Bishopricke of Cusco is 200. leagues long and 70. broad: that of Lima is greater by the one halfe, as is that also of Quito. Whereupon the Bishops of the New World writ to the King that it were better to make them more Bishoprickes, each of which shall yet retaine 20000. Pezos. Every seventh yeere ordinarily is a Provinciall Synod in Peru, to which the Bishoppes come, some by Sea, some by Land 400. or 600. leagues, the wayes not admitting Coaches. Some have sought for Universities in some places to bee erected (as those of Quito) at least for Divinitie, and the liberall Arts and Indian Tongue: the Professors to have foure or 5000. Duckets a piece yeerely. There is no question but of the Indians many learned men may adorne the Schooles and Pulpits.

A.D. 1609.

The Kings Revenue out of the West Indies is twelve Millions yeerely growing out of the fifth of Gold and Silver, great Meltings, Customes of Ports, Indian Tributes, sale of Offices, the Cruzada, Tribute of Rents, Quicksilver, Fines of Courts, and the ninth part of Ecclesiasticall Rents. Popes Buls and Collations of Benefices Ecclesiasticall and Secular are subject to the King, and ordered by his supreame Councell of the Indies.

Kings Revenues 12. Millions from ten Springs.

Chap. X.

Relation of the new Discoverie in the South Sea made by Pedro Fernandez Giros Portugez 1609. with his Petitions to the King, one Englished, another in Spanish.

THis man being a famous Pilot was sent with two ships from Perù to discover the Ilands of Salomon. After hee had taken his course in the height of the Straits of Magellanus, little more or lesse, he did discover a mayne Land, and sayled eight hundred leagues upon the Coast, untill he came to the height of fifteene degrees to the Southward of the Equinoctiall Line where hee found a very fruitfull and pleasant Countrey and well peopled, abounding with Pearles, Gold and Silver, great store of Limons; Orenges and other Fruites excellent good, and in great quantitie: great store of Goats, Hogges, Geese, Partridges, Conies and Fowle, Pepper and Spices. The Countrey is very temperate and healthfull, great store of fish of many different sorts; full of wood and goodly high Trees for shipping; very good pasture, ground for Corne and Cattell.

The men of the Countrey are some tawnie, and some white of good disposition, more civill and politike then the Indians of Peru and Nova Hispania.

There is in the Coast a Bay of some twentie leagues

into which there fals two great Rivers out of the Countrey, which is the place where they purpose to settle their first Plantations.

There are many Ilands in the same Coast both great and little, plentifull they are all and well inhabited.

This Captaine Giroz shall be presently sent unto Peru, with order and Commission to take up twelve hundred men and shipping with other necessaries for the Voyage to inhabit, and as many more shall be sent the yeere following from Nova Hispania, and for the whole businesse he is to receive five hundred thousand Duckets.

Walsingham Gresley.

The Copie of a Petition presented to the King of Spaine, by Captaine Peter Ferdinand de Quir, touching the Discoverie of the fourth part of the World, called Terra Australis incognita: and of the great riches and fertilite of the same: Printed with license in Sivill, An. 1610.

**Perhaps it is one of those eight or some later, which followeth in Spanish, contayning more particulars then this hath: Or else it may be of Luys di Vaez, &c.*

Sir,

I Captaine Fernandez de Quiros, shew unto you, that this is the eighth * Petition, which by mee hath beene presented to your Majesties view, to perswade the conduction of some Colonies, unto the Land which your [IV. vii. 1423.] Majestie hath commanded to bee discovered in the parts of Australia incognita. And yet to this houre no resolution is taken, neither have I received any answere or hope, whereby I might rest assured to obtaine my dispatch, although I have attended fourteene moneths in your Court, and have imployed fourteene yeeres in this Discovery without any profit or other respect but the benefit thereof; with which, notwithstanding infinite contradictions, I have gone 20000. leagues by Land and by Sea, and have diminished and sunke my estate, I have travelled with many afflictions in my person, and suffered such strange and extraordinary crosses that they

seeme almost incredible to my selfe; and all, that so Religious an undertake should not unworthily be abandoned. In regard whereof, I do most humbly beseech your Majestie in the bowels of the divine charitie, that you would be pleased to take order, that I be not deprived of the fruits of this Designe, which with such instance I doe desire, and which with so much justice are due unto my continuall paines and travell: nor that I bee debarred from the effects of so considerable and well grounded a request, whose principall scope is the glory of God, and of your Majestie, and from whence infinite benefits are likely to issue forth, which will live as long as the fabrick of the World shall subsist, and after the dissolution thereof will remaine to all Eternitie.

1. Touching the extent of these Regions newly discovered, grounding my judgement on that which I have seene with mine owne eyes, and upon that which Captaine Lewes Paez de Torres Admirall of my Fleet hath represented unto your Majestie, the length thereof is as great as all Europe and Asia the lesse, unto the Sea of Bachu, Persia, and all the Isles, aswell of the Ocean, as of the Mediterranean Sea, taking England and Island into this account. This unknowne Countrey is the fourth part of the Terrestriall Globe, and extendeth it selfe to such length, that in probabilitie it is twice greater in Kingdomes and Seignories, then all that which at this day doth acknowledge subjection and obedience unto your Majestie: and that without neighbourhood either of Turkes or Moores, or of any other Nation which attempteth warre upon confining Countreyes. The Land which we have discovered, is all seated within the Torrid Zone, and a great tract thereof reacheth unto the Equinoctiall Circle; the breath may be of 90. degrees, and in some places a little lesse. And if the successe prove answerable unto the hopes, they will be found Antipodes unto the better part of Africke, unto all Europe, and to the greater portion of Asia. But you must observe, that as the Countreyes which we have discovered in

The printed discourse (so I call it rather than translation) in English cals it the fifth part: but the Spanish hath the fourth, perhaps accounting the East Indies for a second, America the third, and this the fourth, reckoning all the first knowne parts for the first. Description of the people.

15. degrees of latitude, are better then Spaine, so the other which are opposed to their elevation, must by proportion and analogie proove some terrestriall Paradise.

2. All those quarters swarme with an incredible multitude of Inhabitants, whereof some are white, others blacke and in colour like Mulatos, or halfe Moores, and others of a mingled complexion. Some weare their haire long, blacke, and scattered, others have their haire cripsed and thicke, and others very yellow and bright. Which diversitie is an apparant argument that there is commerce and communication amongst them. And this consideration together with the bountie which Nature hath bestowed on the soile, their inexperience of Artillery and Guns, and their unskilfulnesse in labouring in Mynes, with other semblable circumstances, doth induce mee to inferre, that all the Countrey is well peopled. They know little what belongeth to artificiall Trades; for they have neither fortifications nor walles, and live without the awe of Kings or Lawes. They are a simple people cantoned into partialities, and exercise much disagreement amongst themselves. The Armes which they use are Bowes and Arrowes, which are not poisoned or steeped in the juice of venemous herbes, as the custome is of many other Countreyes; They doe also carrie Clubs, Truncheons, Pikes, Dartes to hurle with the arme, all which are framed only of wood. They doe cover themselves from the waste or girdling place down to the halfe of their thighs, they are very studious of cleanlinesse, tractable, cheerefull, and wonderously addicted to bee gratefull unto those that doe them a courtesie, as I have experienced many times. The which doth build in me a beliefe, that with the assistance of God, if they may be gently and amiably intreated, they will bee found very docible and easie of mannage, and that we shall without much worke accommodate our selves unto them. And it is most necessary to observe this way of sweetnesse, especially in the beginning, that the Inhabitants may be

drawne along to this so holy and saving an end, whereof we ought to take a particular care and zeale, aswell in small things, as in matters of more importance. Their houses are built of wood, covered with Palme-tree leaves; they have Pitchers and Vessels made of earth, they are not without the mysterie of weaving, and other curiosities of that kind. They worke on Marble, they have Flutes, Drummes, and wooden Spoones, they set apart certaine places for Oratories and Prayers, and for buriall places. Their Gardens are artificially severed into beds, bordered and paled; Mother of Pearle and the shels which containe Pearle, they have in much use and estimation, of which they make Wedges, Rasors, Sawes, Culters, and such like Instruments: They also doe make thereof Pearles and great Beads to weare about their neckes. They that doe dwell in the Ilands, have Boats very artificially made, and exceedingly commodious for sayling, which is a certaine argument that they confine upon other Nations that are of a more polished and elegant behaviour. And this also they have of our husbandry, that they cut Cocks and geld Boares.

See of their Boats in Maires Voyage.

3. Their bread is usually made of three sorts of Roots, which grow there in great abundance. Neither doe they imploy much labour in making this bread, for they do onely rost the Roots untill they are soft and tender. They are very pleasant to the taste, wholsome and nourishing, they are of a good length, there being of them of an Ell long, and the halfe of that in bignesse. There is great store of excellent fruits in these Countreyes. There are sixe kinds of Plane Trees, Almond Trees of foure sorts, and other Trees called Obi, resembling almost in fruit and greatnesse the Melacatones; store of Nuts, Orenges and Limonds. They have moreover Sugar-canes, large in size and in great plentie, they have knowledge of our ordinarie Apples; they have Palme-trees without number; out of which there may easily bee drawne a juyce, which will make a liquor alluding much to Wine, as also Whey, Vineger, and Honey,

[IV. vii. 1424.]

the kernels thereof are exceeding sweet. And they have fruits which the Indians call Cocos, which being greene doe make a kinde of twine, and the pith is almost like in taste unto the Creame of Milke: When they are ripe they serve for meate and drinke both by Land and Sea: And when they wither and fall from the Tree, there sweateth out an Oyle from them, which is very good to burne in Lampes, and is medicinable for wounds, and not unpleasant to be eaten. Of their rindes or barks there are made Bottles, and other like Vessels, and the inner skin doth serve for calking of ships. Men doe make Cables and other Cordage of them, which are of sufficient strength to draw a Canon, and are fit for other domesticke uses. But that which is more speciall, they do there use the leaves of Palme-trees, which they amasse together, to make sayles of them for Vessels of small bulke and burthen. They make likewise fine thinne Mats of them, and they do serve to cover the house without, and for hangings within. And of them they doe likewise make Pikes, and other sorts of weapons, as also Oares to row with, and Utensils for the house. You are to note, that these Palme-trees are their Vines, from whence they gather their Wine all the yeere long, which they make without much cost or labour. Amongst their herbage and Garden fruites; Wee have seene Melons, Peares great and little, and sundry sorts of pot-herbes. And they have also Beanes. For flesh, they are stored with a great number of Hogs which are as tame as ours: they have Hennes, Capons, Partriges, Duckes, Turtles, Pigeons, Stock-doves, and Goats, as one of my Captaines did see. And the Indians themselves have given us notice of Cowes and Oxen. There are also sundry sorts of fish, Harghi, Persereyes, Lize, Soles, Trowts, Shads, Macabises, Casanes, Pampani, Pilchard, Thorn-backes or Skate-fish, Cuculi, Congers, Porposes, Rochets, Muscles, Lobsters, and many other, the names whereof I cannot now remember. But it is probable that there are divers

Uses of the Coco.

other kindes, since those which I have recounted were taken hard by our ships. And upon ripe and serious consideration of that which I have represented unto you, a man may easily collect, that such plentifull and different varieties of all things, may yeeld great and singular delights. There is stuffe for Marchpanes and sweet Confections of all sorts, without borrowing any Spice for the composition of them elsewhere. And for my Mates the Mariners, besides those particulars which I have before set downe, there will bee no want of Gammons, Sawsages, and other salt meates which Hogges doe yeeld; neither of Vineger, Spiceries, and other Sawces that serve for delicacie, and to awake the appetite. And you must observe, that many of these things, are the same with those which we have in our parts, and possibly they are there in greater abundance; by all which it is easily to be conjectured, that this Countrey is fit for the production of all that which groweth in Europe.

4. The Riches which I have seene in those parts, are Silver and Pearle; another Captaine in his Relation, doth report that he hath seene Gold, which are the three most precious Darlings that lie and are cherished in the bosome of Nature: wee have also both seene much Nutmegs, Mace, Ginger, and Pepper. There is also notice of Cinamon; and it is likely that Cloves may be found in those parts, since so many other sorts of Spiceries and Aromaticall drugges doe prosper there; and that the rather, because these Countryes lye very neere the parallell of the Iles of Terrenatte, Bachian, and the Moluccos. There are likewise materials for all sorts of Silke, and wee have seene Anise-seed, and excellent good Ebonie, as also other kindes of wood proper for the building of as many ships as one will desire, and stuffe to make sayles for the same. Three sorts of materials there are wherewithall to make Cordage, and one of them is very like unto our Hemp. Moreover out of the Oyle of Cocos, whereof I have already made

mention, there is a kind of bituminous stuffe extracted, called Galagala, which may be well used for Pitch. They make also a kind of Rosen with which the Indians pitch their Boats, which they call Piraguas. And since there are Goats and Kowes in those parts, without question we shall have Goat-skins, Leather, Tallow, and flesh in full abundance. The Bees which we have seene there doe make proofe, that there will be no scarcitie of Honey and Waxe. And there is good appearance to discover many other things which are not yet knowne, to say nothing touching the forme and scite of the Countrey. Unto all which if that bee adjoyned, which the industry of man may contribute to those parts, since there is such abundance of commodities which the Countrey it selfe doth yeeld, and such hope to transport thither those things which grow with us (the best and choisest which Peru and New Spaine bring forth, I have resolved to transferre thither) it is to bee hoped, that this will so enrich that Countrey, that it will be able to nourish and
[IV. vii. furnish not only the Inhabitants of the same, and those
1425.] of America, but give an accession unto Spaine it selfe both of Riches and extent of command: and this may bee accomplished after the manner which I have projected, and will unfold unto those which shall lend an assisting hand for the guiding and consummation of this worke. Now by that Land which we have alreadie discovered outwardly and along the shoares, without entrance into the inward parts, we doe conceive a certaine Argument, that as much Riches, Commodities, and greatnesse may bee hoped from thence, as wee have already in these Countreyes. And you may bee pleased to understand, that my principall ayme was to take a view only of these ample Regions which we have discovered: for by reason of many sicknesses which have weakened me, and some other chances whereof I will at this time make no mention, I was not able to survay all which I desired, neither could I in a full moneth have seene all that, which I was of my selfe inclinable to view.

You are not to make your judgement of the Indians that inhabit these Countreyes, according to the honour of the people here, or conceive them to bee affected with the same desires, pleasures, necessities, or estimation of things that we are: But you are to make account that they are a people whose care is studiously placed upon this, that they may live easily in this World, and passe their dayes with the least paine and perturbation they can. And this is indeed their practise, for they do not bestow themselves on those things, which with such vexation and torment we here labour to obtaine.

5. There are found in this Countrey as many commodities, both for the support and delectation of the life of man, as may bee expected from a soyle that is Manurable, pleasant and verie temperate. It is a fat and fertile Land, wherein many places clay is found, which will proove of excellent use to build houses, and to make Tiles and Brickes, and will serve for whatsoever is usually made of earth. There is Marble and other good stones, wherewith if there bee occasion there may bee built structures of greater State and Magnificence. The Countrey aboundeth in wood, fit for all workes and uses, whereunto the same is commonly put. There are spacious and goodly plaines, and fields that are divided and interlaced with Brookes, Trenches, and Rivers. There are great and high Rockes, sundry Torrents, Rivers great and little, on which water-mils for Corne may with much commodiousnesse be built and placed, as also Engins to make Sugar, Tucking-mils, Forges, and all other Instruments which in their use doe require water. We have found Salt-pits there, and which is a note of the fertilitie of the soile, there are in many places Canes whereof some are five or sixe handfuls thick, with fruit answerable to that proportion. The top of that Fruit is verie small and hard, and the skinne thereof is exceeding sweet. There are also flints for fire, equall in goodnesse with those of Madrid. The Bay of Saint James and Saint Philip, hath twentie leagues of banke,

and is without mudde; into which there is a sure and safe entrance both by day and night. It is sheltered and covered with many houses, which in the day time we have seene afarre off to send forth smoke, and in the night store of fire. The Haven called The True Crosse, is of that spacious capacitie, that it is able to containe a thousand ships. The bottome as I have said is without mud, and hath a blackish coloured sand wherewithall it is covered. There are no gulfes or deepe pits, but an assured and easie anchorage in what part soever you will, from forty to halfe a fathome; and it is betweene the mouthes of two Rivers, the one whereof is as great as that of Guadalquivir, and hath mud of a fathome deepe, over which our shallops and boats did passe. For the other River, when our Skiffe went to water there, they found the entrance safe & easie. And a man may from the very mouth of the river take in as much fresh water as he will. The place where ships may bee unloaded hath three leagues of gravell, mingled with little flints blackish and very heavy, which will serve for ballast for ships. The bank is straight and united, on which much green grasse doth grow and prosper, and that makes me to conceive that the Sea doth not beate or rage thereupon; I observe that the Trees are straight, and the branches not dismembred, which is a token that there are no tempests there. Touching the Port, besides the commodities which I have alreadie discoursed of, there is one of marvellous pleasure and contentation. And that is, that at the dawning of the day you shall heare from a Wood which is neere at hand, a sweet and various harmonie of a thousand Birds of all sorts, among which we could distinguish the Nightingales, Black-birds, Quailes, Gold-finches, Swallowes almost without number, Parrochitos, and one Parret wee marked there, and creatures of sundry other kinds, even downe to Grashoppers, and Field-crickets. Every Morning and Evening we received a most odoriferous sweet smell, sent unto our nostrels from the infinite diversitie of Flowres

P. de la vera Cruz.

Rivers.

and Herbes which grow there, amongst which wee observed the blossomes of Orange and Basill. All which (with a number of other varieties) doth make us thinke that the Aire is cleere and healthy, and that the nature of the place is of a good temperature. The Haven and the Bay are therefore of the greater estimation, because they have the Neighbourhood of so many goodly Ilands that are there, and especially of those seven, which are said to have two hundred leagues of extent: and surely one of them (which is some twelve leagues distant from the Haven) is fiftie leagues in circuit. In briefe Sir, I doe affirme unto your Majestie, that you may give command to have a goodly and great Citie built in this Port and Bay which are 15. degrees and fortie minutes of the Southerne Elevation, and those that shall inhabit there, shall have plentie of riches, and all other conveniencies which they can desire. Time will shew and discover all these commodities, and in this place there may be made the discharge and unloading of all the wares and merchandizes of the Countries of Chilly, Peru, Panama, Nicaragua, Guatimala, New-Spaine, Terre-natte, and the Philippines, all which Countries are under the command of your Majestie. And if you shall acquire unto your selfe the Dominion of these Seigniories which I doe now present, I doe make so great an esteeme of them, that besides their being the Key of all the rest, they will (in my opinion) prove another China or Japan, and equallize the other rich Ilands which are on this side of Asia, in trafique of curious and precious merchandizes, to speake nothing of the augmentation and extent of your power, and the establishment which you may make unto your selfe of your Dominions, by the accession of so great a Countrie. That which I have given unto your view in my discourse, is of much slendernesse, in regard of that which I doe probably conceive of this land, the which I am ready to make appeare in the presence of Mathematicians. Neither will I vexe this paper to demonstrate unto you, that

Great Ilands.

Bay in 15 deg. 40. minutes.

[IV. vii. 1426.]

these Countries will be able to nourish two hundred thousand Spaniards. In summe, this is Sir, the world whereof Spaine is the Center, and that which I have related, is the nayle by which you may judge of the whole body, which I pray you to take into your observation.

6. You may judge by that which I have already represented, what the goodnesse and temperature of the ayre is: whereunto this may be added for a further testimonie, that although all our Companie were strangers, yet never a one of them was sicke, albeit they were in continuall travell and labour, and did sometimes sweate, and sometimes take wet. They dranke water fasting, and fed many times on that which the earth did there bring forth. Neither had they any regard to keepe themselves from the *Serenes, nor from the Moone or Sunne, which indeede in those parts is not over-vehement. Onely about midnight, they covered themselves with Wooll, and did lye and repose themselves thereupon. And for the Inhabitants, they are commonly healthie, and many of them very aged, although they have nothing but the bare earth for their pallet; which is an argument of the wholesomnesse and purenesse of the soyle. For if it were a wet and weeping ground, or had any viciousnesse in the mould, they would raise their lodgings higher from the earth, as they doe that live in the Philippines, and other Countries which I have viewed. And this is further confirmed by their Flesh and Fish, which although it be unsalted, yet will it keepe sweete and without corruption two dayes and more. And the Fruits which are brought from thence are exceeding good, as we had proofe by two that I tooke care to bring along with mee, although they had not their full maturitie and growth when I gathered them from the Tree. We have not seene any barren and sandie ground, nor any Thistles or trees that are thornie, or whose rootes doe shew themselves, no Marishes or Fennes, no Snow upon the Mountaines, no Snakes or Serpents, no Crocodiles in the Rivers, no Wormes that use with us to hurt

*The Sereno is the Dew which fals every night in great (almost) showers, infections to those which are abroad in the aire, as is before observed in Drakes Voiages, &c.

and consume our Graine, and to worke us so much displeasure in our houses, no Fleas, Caterpillers, or Gnats. This is a Prerogative that hath the advantage of all the priviledges that nature hath bestowed on other places, and is worthy to be compared, or rather preferred before any delicacie of the Countries of India, some of which are abandoned and unhabited, meerely by reason of these incommodities, and of sundry others that are distastfull unto the Inhabitants, as my selfe have oftentimes beene witnesse.

7. These (Sir) are the greatnesse and goodnesse of the Countries which I have discovered, of which I have already taken the possession in the name of your Majestie, and under your Royall Banner, as appeareth by the Acts which I keepe safely in my power, whereunto I proceeded after this ensuing manner. First (Sir) we erected a Crosse, and built a Church in honour of our Ladie of *L. of Loretto.* Loretto. Then we caused twentie Masses to be celebrated there, and our troopes made haste thither to gaine some Indulgences, granted on Whitsunday. We also made a solemne Procession, and observed the Feast of the blessed Sacrament, the which was carried in Procession, your Banner being ever displayed, and marching before it, through a great circuit of Countries, which were honoured with the presence of the same. In three severall places we set up your Title, in every one of which we prepared and erected two Columnes, with the Armes of your Majestie tricked and garnished thereupon: so that I may with good right affirme, that since this will challenge to be one of the Parts of the world, the Impresse of Plus ultra is accomplished, and because it stretcheth *Plus ultra.* unto the continent, whether it be forward or behinde it skils not, the bounds of your Dominions are with much spaciousnesse enlarged. Now all this which I have performed, receiveth its roote from this the faithfull zeale which I beare unto your Majestie, that to all the Titles which you already doe possesse, you may adjoyne this which I represent, and that the name de la Austrialia

del spiritu santa, may bee blazoned and spread over the face of the whole world to the glory of God, who hath revealed this Countrie, and hath given mee the grace to guide my course thither, and to returne to the presence of your Majestie, before whom I doe present and prostrate my selfe with the same affection and zeale unto this worke which I had before, and which hath growne up with mee as it were from my cradle, and for the noblenesse and worth thereof, I doe still tender and cherish the same with the greatest love that can be.

8. I doe confidently beleeve, that your Majestie doth use so much prudence in your Councels, and are so magnanimous and full of Christian pietie, that you will (with your best care) embrace all the conducements which may further the habitation of these new-discovered Countries. And the principall reason to put a tye and obligation upon us not to leave them abandoned, is in regard that this is the sole ordinary way to establish the knowledge of God, and faith amongst them, and to bring to passe that his name may be adored and called upon, where the Divell usurpeth so much reverence and invocation. And this ought to be embraced with the more readinesse, because it is the channell to convey and disperse all abundance of commodities amongst your subjects. And hereby you shall be eased of many disturbances and vexations, which will assuredly be put upon you, in case the Enemies of the Church of Rome should enter and nestle there, and should vent their erronious doctrines amongst them, whereby they would convert all the blessings which I have hitherto recounted unto you, into assured incommodities and mischiefes, and would arrogate unto themselves the names of the Lords of the Indias, to the utter ruine and desolation of those Countries. I make no question but your Majestie well weigheth, of what importance this danger, of which I speake, may prove, and what evill consequence some other hazards may carrie with them, which are either at this time imminent, or may succeede hereafter. And if this

[IV. vii. 1427.]

should happen, it would cost you innumerable thousands of gold and men, before you shall be able to give a remedy unto the same. Acquire therefore Sir, whiles that occasion is offered you (that one day you may purchase heaven unto your selfe) acquire (I say) with a little money which you misplace upon Peru, a never-dying reputation, and this New-world with all the benefits which it reacheth out unto you. And since there is none that craveth a reward for these good tidings, that is brought you concerning so great & singular a blessing, which God hath bin pleased to locke up untill your happie time, I am he Sir, that doe demand it, and my humble request unto you is onely this, that you would be of that graciousnesse unto mee, as to dispatch and give me mine answer: for the Gallions are readie to hoise saile, and I have much way to goe, and many things must be fitted and disposed for the voyage. There is no houre passeth, which carrieth not with it an assured losse both in regard of spirituall and temporall blessings, the damage whereof can never be made up or repaired.

If upon a bare suspition Christopherus Columbus did pursue his designe with so much obstinacie, you are not to account it strange in me, if the things which I have beheld with mine eyes, and touched with mine hands, doe put some kinde of constraint upon mee to be importunate.

Let it therefore please your Majestie, amongst so many expedients which you have at hand, to sever and put apart some one for the accomplishment of this worke, that after all these languishments, I may at length meete with the successe of my desires. I doe assure you that you will finde my propositions most just, and that I shall be of sufficiencie to give you satisfaction in all things. This, Sir, is a great worke, amongst which the Divell doth bandie himselfe with all the puissance hee may: And it is not consonant to reason, to abandon these Countries to his tyrannie and power, whereof, know your Majestie is Defender.

Here followeth another Petition or Declaration in Spanish, which I have not translated, that the Originall may be of more authoritie; and have added for further explanation and notice of particulars. I had thought also to have given the other in Spanish, and had accordingly prepared it, but for the English Readers sake, have corrected the once printed Copie by it, and not troubled you with both.

EL Capitan Pedro Fernandez de Quiros: Xa he dicho a V.M. que de la parte del Sur, esta oculta la quarta parte del Glovo, y que el descubrimiento que en ella hize, lo es de vente y tres islas, cuyos nombres son. La encarnacion. San Juan Bautista. Santelmo. Las quatro Coronadas. San Miguel Archangel. La conversion de san Paulo. La Dezena. La Sagitaria. La Fugitiva. La del Peregrino. Nuestra Sennora del Soccoro. Monterrey. Tucopia. San Marcos. El Vergel. Las Lagrimas de san Pedro. Los portales de Belen. El Pilar de Zaragoça. San Raymundo. Y la isla de la Virgen Maria. Y juntamente de aquel las tres partes de tierra llamada la Austrialia del Espiritu santo: en laqual tierra se hallo la Bahya de san Felipe, y Santiago, y puerto de la Vera-
3. *Navios.* cruz, adonde estuvimos surtos con los tres navios trienta y seis dias. Entiendiose ser todas tres una gran tierra,
Rio Jordan. y sus altas y dobladas Serranias, y aquel rio Jordan, por su grandeza parece que osseguran la de la tierra, como de todo mas largo consta por una informacion que hize en Mexico, con diez testigos delos que fueron comigo, a la qual me remito. Mande V.M. que sea vista, y que se haga una junta de Matematicos, y Pilotos, y personas platicas, pues al presente las ay muy insignes en esta Corte, y la causa lo merece, y a V.M. le importa muchissimo. Advierto que esta informacion la hiziera, con todas quantas personas vinieron de la jornada, si fuera bien admitida la ofrenda que para esto hize, o fuera ayudado, ô yo pudiera, que no me obligue a impossibles, y me veo obligado a ellos.

Digo pues sennor que en una ista que se llama Taumaco, que al parecer dista de Mexico mil y dozientas y cincuenta leguas, estuvimos surtos diez dias, y que el sennor de aquella islaas, cuyo nombre es Tamay, hombre de razon, buen cuerpo, talle, y color algo moreno, los ojos hermosos, la nariz afilada, las barvas, y los cabellos crecidos, y crespos, y a su modo grave, nos ayudo con su gente, y embarcaciones, ahazer a guada, y lenna, de que en aquella sazon estavamos muy necessitados. Este tal vino a verme a la Nao, y dentro en ella le examine, en la manera siguiente. Lo primero le mostre su isla, y la mar, y nuestras naos, y gente, y apunte a todas partes del Orizonte, y hize otras ciertas sennas, y con ellas le pregunte, si avia visto navios, y hombres como los nuestros, y a esto dixo que no. Preguntele si sabia de otras tierras lexas, ò cerca, pobladas, ò despobladas, y luego que me entendio nombrò a mas de sesenta Islas, y a una grande tierra que se llama Manicolo: yo sennor las fui escriviendo a todas teniendo presente la guia de navegar, para saber hazia el rumbo que cada una demorava, que viene a ser de aquella su isla a la parte del Sueste, Sur Sudeste, ò Este, y Nordeste; y para que yo entendiesse quales oran las pequennas, hazia pequennos circulos, y mostrava el mar con el dedo, y con el dava a entender cercana la tierra, y por las que eran mayores, hazia mayores circulos, y las mismas demostraciones: y por aquella gran tierra abrio ambos los braços, sinbolverlos a juntar, mostrandoque proseguia. Y para dar a entender quales eran las lexanas, ò estavan de alli mas cerca, mostrava el Sol de Levante a Poniente, recostava la cabeça sobre una mano, cerrava los ojos, y contava por los dedos las noches que en el camino se dormia, y por semeiancas dezia, quales gentes eran blancas, Negros, Indios, y mulatos, y quales estavan mezelados, y quales ran sus amigos, y enemigos, y que en alguvas islas se comia carne humana; y para esto hizoque mordia su braço, mostrando claro querer mal à estagente, y deste, y de otros modos al parecer, se entendio quanto dixo, y

Taumaco Isla.

[IV. vii. 1428.]

Mas de sesenta Islas, y una grande tierra que se llama Manicolo.

se lo repetitantas vezes, que mostro cansarse dello. Y dando con la mano hazia el Sur Sudeste, y otras partes, dio bien a entender quantas mas tierras avia. Mostro desseo de bolver a su casa, dile cosas que llevasse, y se despidio de mi, dandome paz en el carrillo, y con otras muestras de amor.

El siguiente dia fui a su pueblo, y para mas bien enter arme delo que Tumay declarò, lleve comigo muchos Indios a la playa, y teniendo en la mano el papel, y presente la aguia de marear: a todas fui preguntando muchas vezes porlas tierras a que Tumay puso nombre, y en todo conformaron todos, y dieron noticia de otras pobladas, todas de gentes de los referidos colores, y juntamente de aquella grande tierra, en la qual con proprias sennas dixeron que avia Bacas, ò Bufalos: y para dar a entender que avia perros ladravan, y por gallos y gallinas, cantavan, y por puercos grunnian. Y assi desta manera dezian lo que querian, y respondian a quanto se les preguntava: y porque les mostraron perlas en el boton de un rosario, dieron a entender las avia. Todas estas preguntas y diligencias, hizieron otros de mi compannia, este dia, y otras vezes a estos, y a otros Indios, y siempre dixeron lo mismo, y por esto se entendio ser gente que trata verdad.

Quando sali desta isla de Taumaco, hize coger quatro muy gallardos Indios, los tres se hecharon a nado, y el que quedo, y despnes se llamo Pedro, declarò en el puerto de Acapulco, y por el camino, y enla ciudad de Mexico adonde murio, aviendolo visto el Marques de Montes claros lo siguiente, sin nunca variar, aunque se le pregunto en diversos tiempos, y por muchas personas, y de muchos modos, y se le negavan, y contradezian sus dichos.

Chicayana Isla. Lo primero dixo Pedro, ser natural de una ista que se llama Chicayana, mayor que la de Taumaco adonde de hallamos, y que de la una a la otra ay quatro dias de camino, de sus embarcaciones, y que Chicayana es tierra rasa y muy abundante de los frutos y a referidos, y que

la gente della es de su buenna color de Indio, cabello suelto y largo, y que se labran como el lo estava, poco enel rostro, ombros, y pechos, y que tambien ay hombres blancos que tienen los cabellos rubios, y muy largos, y que ay mulatos, cuyo cabello no es frisado, ni de todo suelto, y que el era texedor, y soldado flechero, y que en su lengua se llamava Luca, su muger Layna, y su hlio Ley.

Dixo mas, que en aquella su isla ay muchas Ostras, como de las que vi sus conchas, y traxe algunas, que aqui tongo de tres tamannos. El primero, es el comun de la Margarita; el segundo mayor al doble; y el tercero de palmo, mas y menos de diametro, y que a todas estas Ostras llaman Totofe, y que en ellas se hallan perlas, a las quales llaman Futiquilquil: y por esto le mostre las conchas, y el las tomò en las manos, y en ellas fue mostrando las partes a do se crian. Y preguntado quantas eran, y de que tamanno, dixo, que en unas se hallan mas, y en otras menos: y para dar a entender el grandor dezia que las ay como arena, y como sal, y como pedrezitas, y como cuentas de rosarios, y como botones como tenia en un coleto, y otras mayores, y que se pescan en menos de medio estado de fondo, de piedras y arena, y que son muy gran des los trechos de mar, que alli tiennen poco fondo, y que el mismo sin çabullirse las sacava con la mano, y las ponia en su Canoa, y que solo las quieren para comer su carne, a la qual llaman Canofe, y que las conchas les sirven para hazer anzuelos, cucharas, y otras cosas, y que las perlas no les sirvende nada.

Dixo mas, que ay en esta misma isla de chicayana otra suerte de ostras, a la qual llaman Taquila: y para dar a entender su tamanno, sennalò el grandor de una buena rodela: y por hazerseme increyble la mucha camidad que dixo de todas perlas, y la grandeza destas Taquilas, le pregunte si nacian dentro en los cocos, o en los arboles, o en las pennas, o en la tierra, o por fuera de las conchas: dixo que no se hallan sino en le suelo del mar, y dentro en ellas las perlas, y que las

ostras las unas estan recostadas a todos lados, y otras enhiestas y abiertas hazia arriba, y que si en algunas destas ostras entran la mano que se cierra, y luego go dixo no ay mano, y que a esta causa las sacan con palos, y con lazadas de cuerdas, y que tienen grande y muy buena carne que ellos comen, y no hazen caso de las perlas, y que las vezes que las queria el mismo las pescava, y las llevava a su casa. Y como el Orro Viage yo mismo vi a las Indios de la isla de Santacruz, traer del cuello colgadas muchas patenas mayores y menores, todas de conchas de nacar, entendi ser loque Pedro de zia, lo mismo de las patenas, y a esta causa no hazia mucha cuenta deste dicho: mas viendo que unas vezes se enojava, y otras con muy grande ahinco trabajava por darse a entender, por esto le mostre un guijarro negro y redondo, del tamanno de una ciruela temprana, y le pregunte si en su tierra avia per las assi como aquella, dixo que no, porque aquel guijarro er a negro, y las perlas blancas como papel, y que quando las mirava al Sol, que la vislumhre dellas le dava en los ojos, y assi hazia con ellos como si las tuviera presentes. Y preguntado si las avia tan grandes como el referido guijarro, dixo que otras avia chiquitas como el guijarro. Y luego tuntò la cabeça a del dedo pulgar con la del indice en forma de circulo, y alli con un dedo de la otra mano, fue senna lando mayores y menores perlas, y que en cada hostia no ay mas de una sola: y con todo temiendo ser lo que dezia las patenas de mi sospecha, le pregunte si eranchatas, o redondas, o de otras formas. No me entendio por este lenguage. Luego hize como que queria poner el guijarro en el suelo a son de correr: y assi como lo vio, dixo con gran demostracion, que quando las echavan en el suelo yuan rodando por manera que a mi entender dio claramenta ser perlas redondas, y de los tamannos referidos, y que su hijo trahia al cuello una dellas, y que el mismo la horadò con piedra blanca, y delgada, y que el fondo de adonde las sacava, es de dos estados mas y menos, y que en sus conchas dan de comer a

He made two Voyages.

[IV. vii. 1429.]

los puertos. Preguntele si las grandes conchas tienen el mismo lustre que tienen las ordinarias que le mostre dixo que si, todas estas y otras preguntas le hize muy trocadas, y como en su tierra se llaman los arcabuzes, y otras de nuestras cosas, dixo que no las ay, por manera que siempre respondio sin sospechas, y solo dio nombre con mucha resolucion a las cosas que ellos tienen, yo afirmo por verdad que no entendi escrivir la grandeza, ni el mucho numero que dixo aver de toda suerte de perlas, por parecerme noticia nunca oyda: mas considerando que naturaleza es po derosa para criar como ya se han visto grandes perlas, y de las comunes tan gran suma en el rio de la Hocha, Margarita, y Cubagua: y yo porfie tanto en inquirir esta su declaracion, pareciome dever dezir lo que este Indio me dixo tantas vezes, y a otras muchas personas, que no con menos cuy dado le examinaron, y en suma yo hago las diligencias, y escrivo como hombre que tengo de morir, y no se quando.

Dixo mas, que de la isla de Taumaco a tres dirs de camino, y de Chicayana ad os; ay otra isla mayor que las dos dichas, que se llama Guaytopo, poblada de gente tan blanca, como lo es en comun la nuestra, y que hasta los hombres tienen rubios los cabellos mas y menos, y tambien negros, y que se labran las barrigas, y a su nibel todo en rueda, y que todas tres islas son gente amiga, y de una lengua, y que usan darse la paz en los carrillos, y que tienen por sennal de enemigos quando huyen los rostros, y que en esta isla ay muchos ostrales de los tres generos menores, en grandes trechos de mar, de fondo assi coma el de Chicayana, y que tienen muchas perlas. Y preguntado si el avia estado en ella, dixo que no. Luego le bolui a preguntar como sa bia lo dicho, y lo contò desta manera, que de aquella isla salio un navio gran de los suyos, con mas de cincuenta personas, a buscar conchas de Carey, de que usan hazer çarçillos, y otros juguetes que cuelgan de las orejas, a otra isla poblada que llaman Mecuaraylay, *Guatopo Isla.* *Mecaraylay Isla.*

que estando a vist a della, les dio un viento contrario que les obligò a buscar su isla, de la qual estendo cerca, bolvio el viento a ser contrario, y que andando en estas bueltas se les acabò el bastimento, a cuya falta murieron quarenta personas de hambre y sed, y que el estava en la Isla de Taumaco, quando este navio aportò alli con solos siete hombres muy blancos, excepto eluno que era moreno, y con tres mugeres blancas, y hermosas como Espannolas, que tenian los cabellos rubios, y muy largos, y que todas tres venian cubiertas de cubeça hasta los pies con unos como mantos azules, o Negros, y muy delgados, a que llaman foafoa, y que de todas estas diez personas, solo quedô vivo el Indio Olan, al qual los nuestros quando alli lo viero en Taumaco, tan blanco y tan bermeio, le llama ron el Flamenco, como queda referido, y que este Indio Olan y otros le contaron quanto ha dicho, de aquella isla de Guaytupo, y que el mismo vio venir a su isla de Chicayana, otro navio de aquellos de dos vasos cargado de gente blanca y hermosa, y con muchas y muy lindas muchachas, y dio a entender contando por los dedos de diez en diez, ser por todos ciento y diez personas.

Tucopio Isla. Dixo mas, que de otra isla que se llama Tucopio, que es a donde los dos Indios se echaron a nado, como queda referido, a cinco dias de su navegar, ay aquella gran tierra Manicolo, poblada de mucha gente lora y mulata en grandes pueblos, y para dar a entender su tamanno, sennalò el de Acapulco, y otros mayores, y por esto le pregunte si avia pueblos tan grandes como Mexico, dixo que no, mas que muchas gentes, y que son sus amigos, y no comen carne humana, ni se entienden las lenguas, y que es tierra de muy altas serra nias, y grandes rios, y que algunos dellos no se pueden vadear, sino passarse en canoas: y pue para ir de la isla Tucopia a aquella tierra, quando sale el Sol les queda a la mano izquierda, que viene a ser del Sur para el Sudeste. Digo pues, que si esto es assi como

Manicolo terre grande.

lo dixo, que viene bien con la cordillera de sierras que se vieron ir corriendo a la buelta del Poniente, como esta dicho en su lugar, quando fuimos desgarrando. Mucho encarecio Pedro la grandeza poplacion y fertilidad, y otras cosas desta tierra, y que el y otros Indios fueron a ella en una de sus embarcaciones, a buscar un tronco de un grande arbol, de los muchos que ay en ella, para hazer una piragua, y que vio alli un puerto, y dio a entender ser mayor, y de boca mas cerrada que lo es el de la Bahia de san Felipe y Santiago, y que el mirô su fondo ser de arena, y su play a Del astre como el otro ya dicho, y que tiene dentro quatro rios y mucha gente, y que por la costa de aquella tierra anduvieron hazia el Poniente mas camino que ay de Acapulco a Mexico sin verle fin, y se boluieron a su isla. Advierto que como yo avia visto aquella isla de Tucopia, dixe adrede que sabia aver en ella muchas ostras y perlas, y que dixo que no ay sino mucho fondo, y que es assi verdad porque lo hize sondar.

Dixo mas, que de Taumaco atres dias de camino, y con viento fresco a dos, ay otra isla que se llama Fonofono, partida en muchas islas pequennas y rasas, y por esto a cautela le dixe, que avia en ellas grandes rios: pues grandes rios en islas pequennas, y rasas, no los puede aver, dixo que no sino poços, y que son todas muy fertiles, y muy pobladas de gentes loras, Indios y mulatos, muy altos en demasia, y tanto, que con ser algo mas alto que yo, sennalo en una pared todo quanto pudo alcançar con los dedos, estendidos braço y mano, y dixo ser aquella su altura, y que son sus amigos mas no de su lengua, y que en estas islas ay grandes trechos de mar, de poco y de mucho fondo, commanchas de muchas hostras, y que el mismo las saco para comerlas, y que tenian perlas de los tamannos que tiene dicho, excepto las Taquilas, y que ay alli un muy buen puerto: y tambien dixo que cerca destas islas ay otra que se dize Pilen, y otra Nupan, y [IV. vii. 1430.] *Fono fona Isla.* *Pilen, Isla.* *Pupan Isla.*

que tienen lo mismo de comidas, gentes, y perlas y de oydas y no de vista, dio nombre a otras muchas islas, y de todas dixo lo dicho. Adviertese, que en todas las Indias en solo la Margarita, y en el rio de la hacho, se ha sacado y va sacando la multitud de las perlas que se sabe, dexo las pocas uno tan buenas de Panama, y digo que si es assi como esta dicho, que muchos numeros se pueden esperar de adonde dio la noticia, assi por ser muchas estas partes, como por la grandeza de los mares que dixo tienen poco fondo, y mas se advierte que solo dixo de las ostras que alcançan a ver los ojos, y solo con las manos cogen sin zabullirse, quedando siempre reservadas las dos, quatro, ocho, y mas braças como oy se pescan en sa Margarita.

En Mexico lleve a Pedro por dos vezes a casa de un horadador de perlas, y a mi ruego le mostro de todos los generos communes: assi como los vio se alegro mucho, y dixo con gran demostration y encarecimiento, que en su tierra ay muchas perlas y mas blanchas que aquellas. Mostrole mas unos barruecos, o assientos grandes y abromados, hizo mal gesto, y dixoque aquello no era bueno, y que en su tierra avia mejor. Mas diligencia hizo el Alcalde mayor del puerto de Acapulco, don Pedro Flores, pues le mostro una cadena de muchas sartas de perlas, y le preguntò si en su tierra avia de aquellas cadenas, dixo que no. Luego saco de alli ciertas perlas, y se las mostrò en la mano, y le preguntò si avia assi como aquello, dixo que si, mas que no estavan horadadas, y se puede presumir que a falta de brocas, y de taladros, no se aprovechan de las perlas y de las conchas si por ser mayores, y del mismo lustre, y faciles de horadar.

Pouro gran tierra.

Dixo mas, que en Taumaco ay un Indio gran piloto, y que sabe los nombres de muchas tierras, en las quales ha estado muchas vezes, y que de una Grantierra que se llama Pouro muy poblada, cu y a gente lora, e Indios, algunos son amigos su yos, y otros muy belicosos y guerrer os entresi, traxo a su isla de Taumaco un

pagaga yo de pecho y cuello colorado, y ciertas flechas con puntas a forma de cuchillo, y que el mismo las vio, y las tentò, y dio a entender que les querian para con ellas matar mas facilmente, por esto le mostre un cuchillo, y dixo ser negro al respeto de las puntas. Mostrele un vaso de plata, y dixo ser las puntas tan blancas como ella, muchas vezes le contradixe este dicho, y siempre mas se afirmò.

Advierto, que en la Bahiya de san Felipe y Santiago, se hallaron en una casa muchas piedras negras y pesadas, y que a caso me traaeron dos partes tan grandes, cada una dellas como una nuez, y que en la ciudad de Mexico un don Francisco Pachoco duenno de minas, y un Diego Gomez de Molina las vieron en mi mi posada, y el uno dellos me mostraron lleno de ojos de plata, por esto lo llevamos luego a casa de un ensayador que lo puso en un crisol, y ella por sus razones le dio tanto fuego que el crisol se desfondo; y assi no se vio na da toda via, yo me avia quedado con la otra parte que el ensayador requemò y en esta se vio una puntilla que estendida al martillo se tocô luego en tres piedras, y dixeron seis plateros ser toques de plata: y para mas certificarse tocaron plomo y estanno, y otra plata conoscida junto a ella, mas huvo alli quien dixo que aquel ensaye se avia de hazer por azogue, y otros que con salitron y ciertas cosas, y el ensayador afirmò ser bueno el metal, y aqui se tocò la puntilla, y dixeron dos plateros que es plata.

Estas piedras avia mostrado a Pedro, y assi como las vio, dixo que en los cerros de Taumaco ay muchas dellas, y que se llama Treaque, y que tanbien las ay en aquillo gran tierra Manicolo, y que todos los Indios las quieren, los unos para labrarse, y otros para inviexarse con ellas, y lo mismo dixo Paulo de su tierra, que es la Bahia de san Felipe y Santiago de adonde se traxeron, y dizen mineros que adonde ay invixes ay metales, y que por los invixes se descubreron las minas de plata y oro de S. Luis de la nueva Espanna,

y las de azogue de Guancavelica del Piru. Y advierto, que dezir Pedro que vio flechas con puntas de plata, parece que por razon de la poca que se hallò en aquel poco metal que tan a caso setraxò, y por la dispusicion de la tierra, y el sitio ser paralelo del Piru, obligan a creer que puede ser assi como lo dixo.

Adviertase mas, que Pedron despues que supo darse a entender en vuestra lengua, conformò con todo lo que dixeron los Indios de Taumaco, y esto assi en la tierra grande, como en las muchas islas y muchas gentes, y algunas corpulentas labradas y por labrar, varios coleres, largos cabellos rubios, negros, frisados, crespos, de que estan pobladas: y juntamente en la mucha abundancia de comidas de unos mismos generos que todos tienem. Y tambien se advierta, que todo lo referido lo avemos visto desta vez, y que lanti, erra donde estuvimos surtos, parece ser la misma que va prosiguiendo, y de la grandeza que ellos dizen a suma digo, fundado en razones fuertes, que aquellas gentes estan alli por vezindad y continuacionen otras tierras mas al Sur, Leste, y Oeste, y que si no ay milagro que en aquella oculta quarta de globo, estey muy grandes y muy estendidas provincias, llenas todos de muchas y muy varias gentes, y que en todos generos aura ventaia, quanto mas fueren subiendo de quinze grados arriba y por venderse tan caro, se deu esperar mejor a en todo lo apuntado.

15. *Grados.*

The first Voyage.

Adviertase que la primera vez que el Adelantado Alvaro de Mendasia, fue y descubrio las islas que llamo, de Salomon, hallo en ellas, y se traxeron cantidad de perlas tostadas al fuego, porque los Indios solo comen la carne assando las ostras, y que el segundo viage que hizo el mismo Adelantado, descubrio de nuevo la isla de Santacruz, donde murio, y que en ella yo mismo vi muchas conchas, y aquellas muchas patenas de nacar referidas, y que de una cierta isla alli cerca, se traxo un muchacho que se llamò Miguelillo, y que este despues que supo nuestra lengua, dio noticia de aver

[IV. vii. 1431.]

The second Voyage. Isla de Santa Cruz.

en su tierra muchas perlas, con grandes muestras de ser assi. Tambien se advierta, que desta ida avemos visto en tres islas las conchas de nacar, de los tres tamannos, y en la una dellas Ostiones secos, adonde se hallaron algunas perlas menudas: por manera, que juntando lo que dixo Pedro, a lo que se ha visto, son quinze las islas de que ay noticia que tienen perlas, y por la vista de sus conchas, se pueden, y deven esperar, y tambien por ser Aquella poca altura, tan propria para criarse, y quanto Aquellas grandes Taquillas, lo dexo al tiempo; y solo advierto, que pues Pedro dixo, que ay grandes perlas, que tambien dixo aver grandes conchas, capazes dellas. Y en suma digo, que Dios nuestro Sennor, no da de una vez todo quanto puedo, y que primero haze la prueva del costoso, y sufrido amor que le tienen las personas, a quien encamina una tan gran cosa como a V.M. en esta.

Dixo mas Pedro que al diablo llaman Terva, y que habla con los Indios de un palo, sin ser visto, y que a el mismo, y a todos ellos de noche, y muchas vezes, les palpava los rostros, y los pechos con cosa muy fria, y que queriendo saber lo que era no hallavan nada: y esto dezia mostrando cierto recato y temor dan do bien a entender se cosa mala y para ellos bien aborrecible; y tanbien dixo a otros que no ami, que antes que a su tierra fueramos, y a el diablo les avia dicho que los aviamos de ir a matar. Mostrava muchos desseos de bolver a su tierra, para dezir al sennor de Taumaco, todo el bien que le aviamos hecho, y que los otros Indios sus compánneros, ellos mismos se hecharon de las naos a nado, que nosotros no les hizimos ningun mal. Y tambien mas, para dezir a todos sus naturales quan buena cosa es ser Christiano, y que a el despues que lo era, el diablo no le hablo, ni le oyo, ni de noche le palpo, y para traer su hijo, y venirse a vivir con nosotros. Y tamcien dixo, que ensu isla de Chicayana, ay perros grandes como los nuestros, y que los llaman Ticuri, y que ay muchas

avas como las de Europa, mas que no las sabien comer: y una fruta quiso dezir mançanas porque las vio, y mucho gengibre, y que en su tiempo haze buen frio, con ser en tan poca altura. Y mas dixo, que a los que matan honbres los ahorcan, y que nuestros cavallos son buenos para andar en ellos, mas no para ser servido de los honbres. Era Pedro al parecer de edad de venticinco annos, y en aquella sazon que declaro sabia poco de la lengua Castellana, y a esta causa costo mucho trabajo esta su declaracion, porque se le ha negado y repeti do muchas vezes, y parece que si viviera diera mas razon que ha dado: mas yo creo que es mas para creer lo que esta dicho, que no lo fuera si llegara a ser se ladino, con que yo y todos quanto le trataro le teniamos por hombre de verdad, y de verguença. Un dia entro en la yglesia de San Francisco de Mexico, y por ver en ella muchos Crucifixos dixo, que como avia alli tantos Dioses, si le dezian que no avia mas que un solo Dios Fuele respondido ser todos retratos del verdadeao Christo. Y con esto, y con lo demas que se le dixo parecio satisfacerse y los frayles que le oyeron se alegraron por ser pregunta de hombre que sabia discurrir; y finalmente Domingo de Ramos murio: yo fio de la misericordia de Dios, que pues por un en estranno modo le traxo al bautismo, y a morir confessado, y olea, le y en tan sennalado dia, y con muestas de buen Christiano, que ha sido para darle su santa gloria. Y este fue su dichoso fin, del qual devo estar muy consolado, y parece que su divina Magestad va ordenando, que casi no ay a medios humanos para, acabar Aquella su tan grande obra, ò almenos que falten Aquellos en que mas estrivo, ò puedo estrivar.

El otro Indio se llamava Paula, era muchacho de hasta ocho annos, de color loro, cabello frisado, tenia muy hermosos ojos, muy buen talle y mejor condicion, y tanto que todos quantos le trataron le querian mucho, por se tan docil, y agradable: sabia como Pedro las

quatro oraciones, y se per signava con mucha alegria, y bautizado y buen Christiano le llevo Dios el dia dela Ascension: dava razon del Demonio, y que se llamava Hadanua, y de como habla con los Indios sin ser visto, y tanbien la dava de perros mayores y menores, y de un animal como gato, y de un granderio hazia la parte de su pueblo que en Aquella su tierra ay mucha gente guerrera, enemiga una de otra, y queno se come carne humana: y esto se deve creer porla mucha que tienen de puercos, y gallinas, y tantas otras comidas, pues el comerse carne humana entre otras gentes, parece proceder de la esterelidad de las tierras, ò de la vestialidad desus moradores: y porque era ninno y estava enforma, no se pudo saber del quanto se quiso. Un pequenno vocabulario tengo, que es lo que pude juntar de las lenguas de Pedro y Paulo, lo que dezir, que es muy pronunciable.

Por todo lo dicho se vee claramente, que solo ha avidodos grandes partes de tierras a partadas desta Europa, y de la Africa, y Asia: la primera es la America, que descubrio, Christoval Colon, y la segunda y postrera del mundo, es la que vi, y pretendo poblar, y acabar de descubrir para V.M. Esta grandeza deve de ser abraçada, assi por tener tanto de Dios, como por ser dar principio a una tan grande obra, y de tantos, y tan grandes bienes, que ninguna otra de su genero puede ser mas, ni tanto al presente, ni adelante, como lo podre mostrar si soy oydo, y preguntado.

Siendo pues este caso tan admirable quanto sueva, y viendo, tan empennada mi conciencia, y serme fuerças, tan grandes y tan pessadas, cargas, que por abreviar, prometo a V.M. de pudiere llegar con ellas, y tuniere de licencia, y aora, para mas obligar a V.M. a lo que tan obligado le tierie el titulo de Rey Catolico, y defensor de la Fê, recuerdo, quan Real, y sennalada merced de Dios es esta, negada a todos los Reyes del mundo, y solo a V.M. concedida, cuyo sonido, ò retin, es fuerça causar grandes invidias, y a su pessar de todas

ellas V.M. ha de conseguir el mas principal intento que es solo hazer la guerra al infierno, que tanto estrago haze en un numero tan copioso de almas, redimidas por la persona de Christo, con la esperanca [IV. vii. 1432.] que queda de quantas se han de salvar andando tiempos, siendo la salvacion de una sola de tanto precio, quæ si necessario fuera el mismo Christo viniera, a dar la vida por ella. Y con esto queda Sennor bien entendido de quanto valor es este hecho, y quantos premios dara Dios, por averlo (contanto amor y fervor) intentado; y quantos mas grados de gloria tendra. V.M. si da fin a esta obra de tanta piedad y misericordia, y tan digna de recebir en la memoria de las gentes: advirtiendo que no ser a con tanto gasto de dineros, ni de hombres, ni con Aquellos estragos, ruynas, y escandalos, que suele aver para averigar el derecho de muy pequennos estados, sino poner debaxo de la proteccion Real con medios todos muy suaves, y justificados, quanto los puedo mostrar una tan gran parte de toda la tierra poblada, para en ella sembrar bienes, y costellos frutos que yo espero en Dios han de ser muchos, muy dulces, muy ricos, y muy duraderos: y solo quiero por paga de tanto quanto tanto vale, que V.M. crea la importancia del caso, y quanto conviene loque pido, y que en todo trato verdad, y que es animo de vender todo lo passado, presente, y venidero por un precio, y este es Sennor de valde.

A note of Australia del Espiritu Santo. Written by Master Hakluyt.

SImon Fernandez, a Pilot of Lisbone, told me Richard Hakluyt, before other Portugals in London, the eighteenth of March 1604. That he having beene in the Citie of Lima in Peru, did perfectly understand, that foure ships and barkes departed from the said Citie of Lima, about the yeere 1600. in the moneth of February toward the Philippinas. Their Generall was a Mestizo, that is to say, the Sonne of a Spaniard, and

an Indian woman. And that seeking to make way toward the Philippinas, they were driven with strong Northerne winds to the South of the Equinoctiall Line, and fell with divers rich Countreyes and Ilands, as it seemeth, not farre from the Iles of Salomon. One chiefe place they called Monte de Plata, for the great abundance of silver that is like to be there. For they found two crownes worth of silver, as he reported, in two handfuls of dust. And the people gave them for Iron as much, and more in quantitie of silver. They report that this place is two moneths sayling from Lima, and as much backe againe.

Concerning this Voyage also; the Licentiate Luis de Tribaldo, a Gentleman of qualitie in the Conde de villa Mediana, the Spanish Ambassadours house, told me Richard Hakluyt, that two yeeres past he saw at Madrid, a Captaine of quality suing for license to conquer this place, & that he obtained the same. And that divers religious men and Fathers were to goe to convert them to Christianitie. They arrived at their returne from this Voyage at Peru, in the moneth of August.

Chap. XI.

The Historie of Lopez Vaz a Portugall (taken by Captaine Withrington at the River of Plate, Anno 1586. with this Discourse about him) touching American places, discoveries and occurents; abridged.

Part of this Discourse was published by M. Hak. out of a written copie contayning the whole. I have added & inserted those things which I thought fit, leaving out such as before have bin by others delivered.

NOva Hispania was called so by the Spaniards, when they made Discovery of it, for that it was like the Country of Spaine, though the people of the Country termed the Land after their owne Countrey Language (some one part after one, some after another) the most part of the people called it Eucata. This Countrey hath sundry great Provinces in it, so fruitfull of all kinde

of necessaries in it for man, that there is neither Africa, Asia, nor Europe, that is better; for that of sustenance for mans bodie there lacketh no store, as Wheat and all other Graines, all beasts necessary for man to eate or to use, with great store of Silkes, Mynes of Gold, Silver, Stones, and Pearle. The Countrey is very well inhabited, so that it is thought there is no part of the World better. The King of Spaine because hee hath many other Countries under him, hee doth little esteeme of this Countrey, but doth take out of it all things that are for his profit, having used those people with great crueltie, and taking of them much Tribute; this

The Ports. Land hath many Ports in the North Sea, and much more in the South Sea, the principall Ports in the

Saint Juan de Lua. North side is Saint Juan de Lua. At this place doth he discharge the Armadas that come from Spaine, and from this place they carrie their Merchandize to the

Mexico. great Citie of Mexico: which Citie is sixtie leagues within the Land, and knowne by the Parishes in the same, to have a hundred and fiftie thousand faire houses of Indians, and six thousand faire houses the Spaniards have in it.

The feare and reverence that they use towards the Spaniards is such; that one Spaniard may goe among a thousand of them, and strike the chiefest of them and use his pleasure, without any word given by the Indians to the contrarie, such is the feare that these

[IV. vii. 1433.] silly people have of the Spaniards. But now, thankes be to Almightie God, the Indians of that Country and Kingdome are become Christians: yet notwithstanding now and then the old men, having not forgotten their former Law, doe use their Idolatry, which being knowne are very cruelly corrected by the Friers for the same offence. The people of this Kingdome are of a sharpe wit, and good understanding, for whatsoever it be, Sciences or other Arts, these people are very apt to

Silkes and clothes. learne it with small instructing, the Indians of this Countrie doe make great store of Woollen Cloth and

Silkes, so that they now beginne to carrie of these Silkes for Spaine. And have all other things necessarie that any other Kingdome of the Christians have, onely Wine and Oyle, which the King of Spaine denieth to have made there, but such as commeth from Spaine, because of his customes, notwithstanding the King doth allow them to plant Vineyards for to eate of the Grapes. This Land is greatly commended not for that above mentioned, nor yet for the Gold and Silver Mynes that it hath, but for the great number of Ports for shipping it hath in the South Sea, where they make many great ships, with the which ships they have traffique with them of Peru, and Parawna, and then they have a Trade to the Philippinas, and to the Ilands of Moluccas and China, so that the commodities which the Portugall carrieth for Portugall out of the East Indies, are likewise brought to the Citie of Mexico, by reason of their shipping, although not in so great quantitie, as they carry for Lisbone, not for that they of Mexico either want shipping or abilitie, but because the Spaniards would conquer it with the Sword as he hath done other Lands, and not by the way of Traffique, as the Portugall doth, the principall Port from whence this Merchandize doth come, is called Aguatorke, in the Coast of China on the North side.

Wine and oyle denied.

Vineyards.

Ports and shipping.

Aguatorke.

After the Conquest of this Kingdome of Mexico, the order how the Spaniard did divide this Land, was this. The principall Cities they refined to the King of Spaine, and to the Generall of this Conquest, who was renowmed Ferdinando Curtis, they assigned unto him a great Valley, or as we call it a low Land betweene two Mountaines, which was called Cornouake, by which, Valley he had the name of Marquesse of the Valley, where there were great Townes, in which some affirme to be about 400000. fire houses; whereby the rent was to him better worth then three hundred thousand Duckets by the yeere. These Rents were confirmed to him and his for ever.

Cornauake Valley.

400000. fire-houses in this Valley.

The other part of the Land that remayned, was parted among the rest of the Captaines and Souldiers which were

at this Couquest, some had a hundred thousand Duckets by yeare, and other fortie thousand Duckets, and some fiftie thousand Duckets, and hee that had least had ten thousand Duckets by the yeare, so that now there are very few which have this Rent, for that they are most of them dead, so that great part of the said Rents are fallen into the Kings hand, wherefore there are many insurrections against the King, which cost many a mans life.

And now to proceed farther along the Coast, which is a Land full of great Mountains, and very hot with much raine, for which cause it is a very unholsome Countrey, where breedeth all noisome wormes and beasts, therefore there are very few Indians dwelling there, and no Spaniards, so that the Countrey is almost desolate. The first Land that is inhabited by the Spaniards along the Coast, is called Veragua, this is the most richest Land of Gold then all the rest of the Indies: therefore it is inhabited with Spaniards. In this place the people are alwayes sicke, and it raineth continually, and the Land yeeldeth no fruit, so that all their sustenance commeth from other places, all which necessities the Spaniards suffer with great patience for the covetousnesse of the Gold, the which Gold they get out of the Rivers with the helpe of a number of Negroes. I doe verily beleeve that if this Land were now the ancient Romanes, or else the Egyptians, they would surely make a channell from the end of this River de Carinas (which issueth from the Lake of Nicaragua) to the South Sea, for that there is no more but foure leagues betweene the Sea and the River, so that there they might Trade to the Moluccas, and to the Coast of China, so would it be sooner and easier done then the long and troublesome Voyages of the Portugals, and sooner made, then to goe through the Straits of Magellan; which is almost unpossible to passe thorow.

Veragua rich of Gold.

A Channell to be made.

From this Land of Veragua unto the Iland of Margereta, the Coast along is called the firme Land, not

Terra firma.

for that the other places are not of the firme Land, but because it was the first firme Land that the Spaniards did conquer after they had past the Ilands. This Land is very hot, and hath much raine, and for this cause is very unhealthfull, and the most vilest place of all the rest, is called Nombre de Dios: which is the first place inhabited after you have passed Veragua. There may be in Nombre de Dios about foure hundred houses, and hath a very good Port for shipping. The cause why the Spaniards inhabited here in this place, was for that it should bee the way by Land to the South Sea, and for the Trade of Peru, that is from hence unto the Citie of Panama eighteene leagues. And Panama standeth on the Coast of the South Sea. To this Towne of Nombre de Dios doth come all Spanish shipping, and there discharge them, then put they the goods into small Barkes that goe up a River to a house which is called, The house of Crosses, where the small Barkes doe discharge the goods againe. And then they put it on Mules so to carrie it to Panama, which is seven leagues from This house of Crosses, all which they doe with much labour and great charge, because the Land hath great store of raine, and full of Mountaines, and very unhealthfull, therefore they often want victuals, for the victuals they have come from Peru, and Nova Hispania. This Towne of Nombre de dios, since they have had the traffike out of Spaine, are growne marvellous rich, and very well inhabited, but in short time the people left the Towne, saving onely the Merchants, because of the unhealthfulnesse* thereof.

Nombre de Dios hath 400. houses.

Panama.

[IV. vii. 1434.]

**Here followed the histories of Sir Francis Drake, and John Oxenham, which you have before more compleat.*

The King of Spaine hearing of the affaires of Drake and Oxenham, sent out of Spaine three hundred Souldiers which should make warre against those Negros that had aided the Englishmen, which were slaves unto the Spaniards, but runne away from their Masters, and joyned with the Englishmen, thinking that way to be revenged of the Spaniards crueltie. But when these three hundred Souldiers were arrived in the Countrie, at their

Warre made with the Negros.

first comming they tooke many of the Negros, and did on them great justice; according to their faults committed, but afterwards the Souldiers were a long time before they could get one Negro. Which newes being sent unto the King by his Captaines, as also how the Countrie was full of Mountaines and Rivers, and very unhealthfull, insomuch that his Souldiers died, he did write to his Captaines to make agreement with those Negros, to the end the Countrie might bee in quiet. And the Negros inhabited two places where the Spaniards willed them, so was the Kings pardon proclaimed to all those Negros, from the time that they fled from their Masters into the Mountaines unto that present day, on condition that all those Negros that did runne from their Masters that day forward, they should be bound to bring them dead or alive; but if they brought them not, that then they should pay for them, and to make all quiet in the Mountaines: and on these conditions all things were concluded and agreed upon. So the Negros dwell in great Townes, where they have Spaniards for their Teachers, and a Spaniard for their Judge; and with this they hold themselves very well contented, and are obedient unto their Rulers.

Negro Townes.

The King of Spaine hearing that Englishmen, as well as Frenchmen, have used that Coast, hee caused two Gallies to be made, and well appointed, to keepe the Coast; the first yeere that they were made, they tooke sixe or seven French shippes, and after this was knowne, there used few Englishmen, or French men of warre, to come on the Coast, untill this yeere 1586. that the aforesaid Francis Drake came with a strong Fleet, of about foure and twentie ships, and did such harme as it is well knowne to all Christendome: but God sparing the King of Spaines life, he will sufficiently provide to keepe his Subjects from the invasions of other Nations.

Seven French ships taken by two Gallies.

Fr. Drake with 24. ships.

Now, to goe forward with our begunne worke, the first People that is in this Coast, being past Nombre de Dios, is called Cartagena, it is a healthfuller Countrie, and a

Cartagena.

greater Towne then the other, and a better Countrie, with plentie of Victuals, and a very good Port for shipping, passing any of the rest, and is called Cartagena, for that it resembleth very much the Citie of Cartagena in Spaine: there are in it about foure hundred fire houses in the Citie; it is very rich, by reason of the ships staying there when they goe or come from Spaine. And if the ships chance to winter before they goe home, then they lie at Cartagena: also it is greatly enriched by the Merchandise that here they doe discharge, for to carrie to the new Kingdome of Granada; and much Gold commeth from the said Kingdome unto Cartagena. This new Kingdome of Granada, is two hundred leagues within the Land. From Cartagena to this Kingdome they cannot travell by Land, because of the Mountaines, and standing waters, which lie in their way, so that they carrie their goods up a River, called The great River of Magdalene: they can goe with their Barques up this River but twentie leagues, yet the River is both large and very deepe, but there runneth a great current, so that the Barques discharge the goods at a place in the River, called Branco de Malambo, into small Canoas which rowe close by the shoare side.

New Granada.

Magdalena a great River.

The River of Branco de Malambo.

There is a passage by the New Kingdome, and Popayan, from Cartagena to Peru, by Land, which is about five hundred leagues, so that taking the two hundred leagues, which they goe up the River, the other three hundred leagues is a Countrie well inhabited, and quiet travelling, so that oftentimes the Posts passe to and fro, but because the way is long, the Merchants doe not travell that way but when they are forced thereunto, if any forraine Nations should take and keepe the South Sea, the King might have his treasure brought to this place from Peru, and so into Spaine. For in times past there was a rebellion in Peru by the Spaniards, against the King, and thorow these Provinces he sent his power to suppresse them.

Santa Marta is a very poore Towne, because it hath

beene often robbed of the Frenchmen, and hath no trade, but by a few Indians that dwell about them. Here beginneth the great Mountaines covered all with snow, which compasseth all the Countrie of India and Peru, untill you come to the further end of the Straites of Magelan, these Mountaines are seene with the snowe upon them above thirtie leagues into the Sea, in the bottome of this Wildernesse, or Mountains, there is a Valley called Tagrona, which is the richest place that is knowne: but because the Land that is joyning to it is full of Mountaines, and the Inhabitants are very many, and withall of a good courage, and they use to poison their Arrowes, so that in striking of a man, hee cannot escape death, therefore it lieth unconquered, and many Spanish Captaines there have beene slaine.

Great Mountaines covered with snowe.

Tagrona Valley.

On this Coast of The Firme Land, there are above seventie Ilands of Sante Domingo, and Cuba, and Porto Rico, although it be not very great, yet it is inhabited by the Spaniard; the rest of all the Ilands have beene inhabited by Indians, where was good store of Gold, and Pearles, and Emeralds: but the Spaniards have destroyed all those Indians from off the Earth, and in many of those Ilands is nothing of any value, therefore I have small cause to intreat of them: but Santa Domingo is an Iland of great bignesse, and hath beene very full of people and rich Mines of Gold and Pearles, but now all is wasted away; for it was as full of people as any place of that bignesse in the world, yet now are there none left, for they were men of so hard a heart, that they killed themselves, rather then they would serve the Spaniards. It happened on a time, that a Spaniard called certaine Indians to goe to worke in the Mines, which kinde of labour did most grieve them, and would rather doe violence on themselves, then to goe; which the Spaniard perceiving, he said unto them, seeing you will rather hang your selves then to goe and worke, I will likewise hang my selfe, and goe with you, because I will make you worke in the other world: but the

70. Ilands. Santa Domingo. Cuba, and Porta Rico.

[IV. vii. 1435.]

A strange way to keepe men alive.

Indians hearing this, said, wee will willingly worke with you, because you shall not goe with us; so unwilling they were of the Spaniards companie: so that of all the Inhabitants of this Iland, there was none escaped death, but onely these few, which was by the meanes of this Spaniard; or else they would have hanged themselves also.

There is neere this Iland another Iland greater then Santa Domingo, called Cuba; it is like unto Santa Domingo, although there is not such store of Sugar, the chiefest place in this Iland is called La havana, and is a very good Harbour: these people are very rich, by reason of the shipping that doth touch there, which are bound for Nova Hispania and Peru, therefore there is a Castle in this Harbour kept with Spanish Souldiers; for there is no other Castle in all the Land, nor Souldiers but onely here, and in Florida. There is also another Iland inhabited with Spaniards, neere unto this, which is called Porto Rico: it is but little, and every way as plentifull as the other two are. *Cuba.* *La havana.* *Porto rico.*

I will follow my Discourse of the Port Townes along the Coast of the maine Land, and passing once the Iland of Margareta, there are no Townes inhabited by the Spaniards, till you come to Fernanboke, which is on the Coast of Brasill: yet betweene the Iland and Fernanboke, there is the great River of Maranoyn. This River is one of the greatest in the world, it was first found when as the Spaniards did seeke out the other Coast, but none can goe into this River because of the great current that commeth downe; and withall there are many shelves of sand lying about the mouth of it, whereby it was long before that the Riches which is in the River was knowne, untill the time that the Land of Peru was conquered; at which time a Captaine called Gonsalo Pizarro, entring into the Countrie of Peru, came into a Land which they named La Canela, because there came from thence great store of Cinnamon, but not altogether so good as that which commeth from the *The Port Townes.* *Fernamboke.* *The River of Maranoyn.* *La Canela.*

Indies. Proceeding further into the Countrie, he came to a great River, where he saw many of the Countrie people come up in Canoas, bringing Gold to buy and sell with the Spaniards. The Captaine seeing this, was desirous to see the end of this River, but could not travell by Land because of the Mountaines, wherefore he made a small Pinnace, to goe see from whence these Indians brought their Gold; and he sent in this Pinnace, a Captaine under him, called Orillana, with thirtie men, the which went downe the River, but could not returne to their Captaine Pizarro, because of the great current which was very strong against them, and forced them to passe the River, and enter into the Sea, and so came to the Iland of Margareta: but as they passed the River, they found it well inhabited with Indians, and to have good store of Gold. These men with their Pinnace were passing downe this River a yeere and a halfe; for the River lieth very crooked, which maketh a long way by water, and the Spaniards never durst land, because they saw the Countrie so full of people; but tooke many Canoas, where they had good store of Victuals, and some Gold. Now this Captaine Orillana comming unto Margareta with this good newes and riches, hee determined with himselfe, not to returne againe unto his Captaine Pizarro, which sent him, but tooke his way from hence to the King of Spaine, and presented him with the Gold that he brought out of the River. Whereupon the King sent him with a Fleet of ships, and sixe hundred men, to inhabite the said River: but because of the great current, and shoalds that are in this River, he left the most part of his men, and ships, and with those that remained, hee went unto certaine Ilands hard by the River, and built him Pinnaces: but the Countrie being very unhealthfull, hee himselfe died, and many of his men, and the rest that remained, went every one the way that pleased him best.

The great River of Marannon.

Orillana.

Margareta an Iland.

The fame of this River was straightway spred thorow Spaine and Portugall, so that a Gentleman of Portugall,

called Leus de Melo, which asked licence of Don Juan the third, then King of Portugall, that he might goe and conquer this said River: for from the mouth of this River to the mouth of this River of Plate, is that part of America, which the Kings of Portugall doe hold according to the partition that the Kings of Spaine and Portugall both made betweene themselves; so that the King of Portugall having this River in his part, hee gave it to the said Leus de Melo, to conquer: who taking ten ships, and eight hundred men, among which there were many Gentlemen, and comming to the mouth of this River, hee lost all the shippes saving two sayle, and in one of them that were saved was Leus de Melo, also the most part of the men that were in the ships were saved and got to shoare, and so went along unto the Iland of Margareta, from whence they were dispersed throughout all the Indies. Thus these two severall Fleets of ships being cast away, by such evill fortune, never any Captaine after, would give the attempt to conquer this said River. Yet from the new Kingdome of Granado, before spoken of, two or three Captaines have gone by Land to discover it.

Brasill conquered.

[IV. vii. 1436.]

None of all these came to any plaine discoverie till few yeeres past, a Captaine of the Countrie of Navarre, called Pedro de Orzua, who came into the Countrie of Peru, neere the place where before Captaine Pizarro had first discovered, and had with him about seven hundred men, all Spaniards, which was marvell that he could have so many, and amongst them there were many Gentlemen, and old Souldiers of Peru, which caused many mutinies and insurrections. With all these men he came to the head of this River, (all the matters that come from the Mountaines of Peru, and the Rivers which runne within the Land from sixteene degrees, and the Line, runne all into this River, which causeth it to be so great.) Now at the head of this River, the Captaine Pedro de Orzua made fifteene Pinnaces, with many Canoas, in which he carried above two thousand Indians to helpe him, with

Pedro de Orzua, or Ossuna.

many Horses and other provision, for to inhabite there, for it was not possible for him to carrie all his provision by Land, for that the Mountaines bee very great, and betweene them many small Rivers, which issue out of this great River above twentie leagues into the Land. So this Captaine having all his things in good order, went downe this River with all his men, and came to a plaine Countrie from the Mountaines, where the Indians did dwell, and there held a Counsell, determining in that place to build a Towne, and to fortifie it very strong, because he would leave all his stuffe, there and such men as were not Souldiers. So they began to make the said Towne, and worke on it all the Winter, where because it raineth much, and is with all very hot, whereby sicknesse did beginne to rise among them, and also want of Victuals; wherefore his men began to murmure. These men came all out of the Land of Peru, which is the fruitfullest Land in all the World, and most richest; therefore these men were the more given to have their fill of Bread and Meat, then to lay their bodies to labour, which was the cause: that although the Countrie in which they were, was very fruitfull, and also they saw with their eyes, the Gold that was there, as also how up in the Countrie it seemed much better then the place in which they were, notwithstanding they murmured, and would needs returne for Peru, from whence they came.

Towne founded.

There was among these men a Souldier of Bisca, called Lopez de Agira, a very little man of body, and was lame of one of his legs, but very valiant, and of good experience in the warres (this man was one of the principall mutiners in Peru, and therefore given usually thereunto) this fellow asked the Souldiers, what they went to seeke in those Wildernesses where as they were brought, for said he, if you seeke riches, there is enough in Peru, and there is, said hee, Bread, Wine, Flesh, and faire Women, so that it were better to goe thither and conquer that, and take it out of the hands of the

Lopez de Agira his mutinie.

Spaniards, for that would easily be done: for that all the Souldiers, & poore men of Peru would turne unto them, and that were a better way then to goe and conquer the savage people in those Mountaines, so that they once having the government of Peru, that then the King of Spaine should agree with them, if not said he, we shall not lacke them that will send us succour for to have the riches that is in the Land of Peru. By these perswasions hee brought many Souldiers to be of his minde; and agreed with a young Gentleman of Sivill, called Don Fernando de Gosman, the which was in love with a yong woman, that the Captain Pedro de Orzua or Ossone had, and therefore he did the sooner agree with Lope de Agire to fulfill his intent. On a night, the Captaine being asleepe in his bed, these Souldiers entred into his Bed-chamber, & stabbed him with their Daggers, as also they slue all the Captains friends, and they made a great crie, saying, Live the King, live the King, wherwith all the Campe was in an uprore. Then Lope de Agire made unto the Souldiers a long Oration, & got them all to consent with him, some by force, some because they durst not say to the contrarie, and others with their good will, in the end they all agreed unto his determined purpose. So they made the gentleman their head, and Lope de Agire was made Captaine, this done, and because the people should the better hold their opinion, hee did as great a villanie as ever any Spaniard did, for hee made an Altar, on which hee and all the Souldiers did denie their service unto the King of Spaine, and so as people without a King, they chose the said Don Fernando to be their King, and did unto him homage.

The Captaine murthered.

Fernando de Gusman chosen King.

These matters being finished, they agreed among themselves which should be the best way for them to goe to Peru, for they could not goe up the River from whence they came, for the great currant, and also if they should goe thorough the land, they should be very weake for want of Horsemen, therefore they determined

to goe downe the River. Then said this Lope de Agire, that they would carry nothing with them, but the Pinnaces and Souldiers which should fight, and that it were best to leave behinde them, all the Indians that they brought from Peru, with the women, and sicke men, unto which their Generall Don Fernando would not agree, for that he knew that when they were gone, the people of the Countrie would kill them all. Lope de Agire hearing this, and longing to be chiefe Governour himselfe over all, and taking unto him thirtie of his owne Countrie men, of his own disposition, he sodainly killed Don Fernando, whom not twentie daies before hee had sworne to obey. But now by his subtile working, and being withall eloquent in his talke, he caused the people to make himselfe Governour, and made the people beleeve that all these cruelties were done to save themselves, but the tyrannie of this man did not end here (he was of the Countrie of Bisca, a land joyning unto France, therefore I rather beleeve that he was a Frenchman then a Spaniard, for that in the heart of a Spaniard there is not so much crueltie as this man had.) Now he being ready to goe his way, he determined not to carrie with him any Gentleman or other of high degree, and therefore hee slew all those which hee did know to be of high degree or Gentlemen, and then departed onely with the common Souldiers, and left behinde him all the Spanish women and sicke men, with all other creatures.

He is slaine.

[IV. vii. 1437.]

Hard conceit of French cruelty by Span. and Portugals.

If I should rehearse all the cruell murders of this wicked man one by one, I should be over much tedious unto you; onely I say in as few words as I may, that this man proceeded downe the River, and had with him onely foure hundred men, but before he passed this River, and came to Margareta, he had no more left but two hundred and thirtie men, for the rest hee had done to death, and left ashore among the people of the Countrie: he used this tirannie because hee alwaies stood in feare of his life, for that if he had seene but

Nothing so cruell as feare proceeding from an ill conscience.

two Souldiers talke together, hee thought that he had alwaies consulted on his death, and therefore hee used the order above said, now he never went any way but that they had in his companie thirtie Biscains of his owne will and minde, for to execute his cruell desire: As these Souldiers with their Captaine came downe the River, they saw many Canoas with Gold in them going to and fro, and people on both sides the River, where in their passage many times they landed and got good store of Gold, and victuals.

R. Amazones why so called. Note the truth of that which hath mocked men touching Amazons in Asia, Africa and America. None other have yet by credible reports beene found but warlike wives, and not solitary unimamians.

Now did they see also that which Oryllana had reported, which was that there were Amazones, women that fight in the warre with Bowes and Arrowes, but these women fight to helpe their husbands, and not by themselves as Orillana reported from the company of men; there were of these women in divers parts of the River, and saw the Spaniards fight with their husbands, and came and helped them, and shewed themselves more valiant then their husbands, and therefore is named the River of the Amazones: the Spaniards intent onely was to passe downe the River, and therefore never sought to know the Countrie within the land; yet tooke they good store of Gold, and put it into one of the Pinnaces where he went himselfe, which Pinnace at the mouth of the River was cast away, but he himselfe escaped, because as yet he had not made an end of his bloudie minde. But comming to the Iland of Margareta, the Governour thereof thought he had beene one of the Kings Captaines, received him with Pinnaces, and brought to him good store of victuals, but he put him to death presently and landed on the Ilands, and tooke it and two Shippes that were in the Ilands, and tooke perforce one hundred and fiftie men to goe with him, and others that went willingly, with good store of victuals and many Horses, and then returned to the maine land, saying that with his small force hee would subdue the whole Indies; thinking that all the old Souldiers and poore people in seeing of him would all turne to his side, and take his

His treason at Margarita.

part, and so hee went deceived in his owne conceit, for he had not gone two dayes Journey up in the Land, when the Captaine of new Granado came against him with a power of men, but Lope de Agire, hoping that the other Souldiers would have come all unto him, whereby his strength might bee the more; but hee was deceived, for his owne men left him and tooke the Kings Captaines part. Now seeing himselfe destitute of his Souldiers, and voide of all helpe, he then shewed himselfe more cruell then did the tyrant Nero, for this man killed his owne daughter, being but sixteene yeeres of age, which he brought with him from Peru, for that she should not be made the bed of Villains, nor be called the daughter of a Traitor: these words he used unto her, after he had given her her deaths wound: but before hee could finish this cruell deed, the Souldiers came upon him, and cut him in pieces; yet his daughter did die of her wound in that place, and thus you have heard the evill end of this cruell man, for hee was the cause likewise that the King would never suffer to have this River discovered, so that the riches resteth to this day unknowne that is in this River.

Lope de Agire slayeth his daughter and is slaine.

Great riches hidden within the River of Maragnon.

Now having ended with this River of Marannon, all the Coast between this River and the River of Plate, is called the Coast of Brasill, taking the name of the wood in the Countrie, which is called Brasill wood (for there is great store of it.) Brasill was first found by Pedro Arnales Cabrall in the second time that the King of Portugall sent his ships for the East Indies, and so tooke possession of this Land, for the King of Portugall. The King Don Emanuel, having newes hereof, sent ships for to discover the whole Countrie, and found it to be the Land of America, which joyneth to the West Indies; wherefore there was some controversie betweene him and the King of Spaine, but in the end being both kinsmen, and great friends, they agreed that the King of Portugall should hold all the Countrie that he had discovered, the which was as I have said, from the River of Marannon

The coast of Brasill.

to the River of Plate, although the Spaniards say that it is no further then the Iland of Santa Catalina, and hereupon there have beene many controversies, betweene the Portugals and Spaniards and many men slaine.

Two English ships. See their storie sup. l. 6. [IV. vii. 1438.]

There came in the yeere 1587. into this River of Plate two English Ships and a Pinnace of the honorable the Earle of Comberland, being bound for the straights of Magelanos, and anchored ten leagues within this River, at a little Iland hard by the Iland called Seall Iland, &c. There is a port called la Para Iva, which few yeares past, the Frenchmen hearing of the troubles that were in Portugall, came to this place, and made there a Fort, and so the French Ships came every yeare thither to lade Brasill wood. But they of Fernambocke with the helpe of the Spaniards went and burnt five ships within the Port, and tooke the Fort, but some of the Frenchmen ranne into the Mountaines, and others slaine, so that the Spaniards doe there inhabit to this day. Now to returne unto Fernambocke, inhabited by a Portugall Captaine called Eduarte Coelio, this is the greatest Towne in all that Coast, and hath above three thousand houses in it, with seventie Ingenios of Sugar, and great store of Brasill wood, and good store of Cotton, yet are they in great want of victuals, for that all that they have commeth out of Portugall, and from other places there on the Coast. It is a barred Harbour, and for small Barkes, this place belongeth yet to the Sonne of Eduarte Coelio. Passing hence is the Cape of Saint Augustine, and next to that is the River of Saint Francisco, which is also a great River. Betweene this and the Bayha, it is all a Wildernesse, inhabited with cruell Savage people; for whom soever they take they kill to eate. The Towne of Baya belongeth to the King, and therefore the Governour that governeth all the Coast along, is in this Towne of Baya, and also the Bishop; it is a Towne of a thousand houses, and hath fortie Ingenios of Sugar, and much Cotton, but no Brasill wood. The Sea runneth up fourteene or fifteene

Parawa now inhabited by Spaniards.

Fernambock hath 3000. houses.

Baya a town belonging to the King: for hee gave most part of this Country to Gentlemen, because they found no Mynes, &c.

leagues, where they get some yeeres good store of Ambergreece; here there is plentie of victuals, and although it be hot, it is a healthfull Countrey, and holesome aires. The next Coast is called, Las Ilhas, it is a small Towne not above one hundred and fiftie houses, there are but three Ingenios of Sugar, the most part of these people are labouring men, and carry victuals to Fernambock in three small Barkes: this people belong unto a Gentleman called Leucas Geraldo.

As Ilhas hath 150. houses.

Porto Sequero hath foure small townes.

From hence, the next to this Towne is called Porto Sequero: this hath foure smal Townes, and are in all about three hundred houses, it belongeth to a Gentleman called Vasco Fernandes Coytenio: from hence they goe to the River of Jenero, which hath about three hundred houses. In this place also the Frenchmen inhabited first, whose Captaine was called Monsieur de Villegagnon, hee made here a Fort, and planted good Ordnance thereon, and lades every yeere great store of Brasill from thence, and had great friendship with the Savage people, which served him very well. But the King of Portugall sent a power of men against the Frenchmen, and first tooke the French ships by Sea, and then landed, and besieged the Fort, and in time tooke them with the Captaine, and because the French Captaine was a Gentleman, and never hurt the Portugals, therefore they gave thirtie thousand Duckets for his Ordnance, with all things that they had in the Fort, and so sent him for France, and the Portugals inhabited the River. There is not at this present but two Ingenios, and great store of Brasil-wood, with plentie of victuals.

Rio de Jenero hath 300. houses.

Villagagnons Fort taken. Of him and it you have before in Lerius.

The Coast of Saint Vincent hath foure townes.

From this River of Jenero, they go along the Coast of Saint Vincent, which hath foure Townes, the greatest is called Santos, and hath foure hundred houses, there are here three Ingenios, but a very poore Country. About few yeeres past there came two English ships into this Harbor, which were going for the Straits of Magellanes, who being in this Port, there came thither three of the King of Spaines ships, and fought with the

Two English ships by Fenton and Ward.

Englishmen, but the Englishmen sunke one of them, and therefore the King commanded a Fort to be made, because that no English shippes that were bound to the Straits should not victuall there, the which Fort standeth on the mouth of the Harbour, this Countrey belongeth to a Gentleman called Martin Alonso de Sousa, this is the last Inhabitance in all the Coast of Brasill; this said Coast is very full of Mountaines, and raineth much, therefore they cannot goe from Towne to Towne by Land. All the dwellings in this Countrey are by the Sea side, yet the Portugals have many times travelled up in the Countrie a hundred and fiftie leagues, but finding no profit, inhabited in no place.

The Coast of Saint Vincent.

The Coast from Saint Vincent is all full of Mountaines, till you come to the Iland of Saint Catalina, from this Iland till you come to the Straites of Magellanes, is very plaine and without Woods.

The River of Plate was discovered by Solis, and after by Sebastian Cabot, which went one hundred and fiftie leagues up in it and built a Fort; after by Don Pedro de Mendoza, who having lost eight ships, died in the way homewards: the poore men which hee left behind him for very hunger, died the most part of them, for that there about were very few Indians, and therefore small store of victuals, but onely lived by hunting of Deere and fishing. Of all the men that this Don Pedro left behind him, there was living no more but two hundred men, which in the ships Boats went up the River, leaving in this place called bonas ayres, three Mares and Horses. But it is a wonder to see, that of thirtie Mares and seven Horses which the Spaniards left in this place, that in fortie yeeres these beasts have so increased, that the Countrey is twentie leagues up full of Horses, whereby one may see the pasture, and fruitfulnesse of the Countrey. The Spaniards that went up this River, were three hundred leagues up, and found the Countrey full of Indians, where were great store of victuals, and the Spaniards dwelt among them as their

See sup. in Schmidel.

Breed of 30. Mares and seven Horses.

friends, and the Indians did give their Daughters to wife unto the Spaniards, and so they dwelt in one Towne
La Ascension. together, which the Spaniards called La Ascension, which standeth on the North side of the River. These foresaid Spaniards, were twentie yeeres in this place, before any
[IV. vii. 1439.] of them in Spaine heard of these poore mens dwelling in this River. But the Spaniards now waxing old, and fearing that if they were dead, that then there Sonnes which they had in this Countrey, which were very many, should live without the knowledge of any other Christians; determined among themselves to make a ship, and so to send newes into Spaine, with Letters unto the King, of all things that had passed within the River among them. Upon this newes the King sent them three ships, with a Bishop, Friers and Priests, and more men and women to inhabit with all kind of cattell. When this succour was come, they inhabited in two places more on the North side of the River, and travelled three hundred leagues beyond the Ascension, but found neither Gold nor Silver, but returned backe againe to Ascension: the people are so multiplyed in this Citie, that it is now one of the greatest Cities in all the Indies, and hath above two thousand houses, it is a fruitfull Countrey of all kind of victuall, and there is Sugar and Cotton, from this Citie of Ascension, one hundred and fiftie leagues toward the Rivers mouth,
Santa Fee. there is another Towne, which they call Santa Fee. Also five yeeres past, they have inhabited againe the
Bonos Ayres. Towne of Bonos Ayres on the South side, because they would have some Trade with them on the Coast of Brasill, but there fortune was such, that the first time that they went to Brasill, and would have returned to the River of Plate againe, they were taken by two shippes of England, that were going to the Straits of Magellanes. The Coast along from this River to the Straits of Magellanes, is a Land which hath not beene discovered, neither by Sea nor Land, saving only certaine Ports which they have seene going to the Straits.

The next that sought to passe the Straits after Magelanes were two shippes of Genoa which came to the mouth of the Straits, and with a great storme were put back againe, and one of them whose Master was called Pancaldo, put into the River of Plate, and was cast away about Bonos Ayres, and to this day there is part of the ship to be seene, and some of the men are yet living in the River among the Spaniards, and the other ship went home to Genoa againe. Also there was a Bishop of Placencia in Spaine, coveting Riches, made a fleet of foure ships to passe the Straits, and so to goe unto the Moluccas, and getting license of the Emperour, he sent his ships to the Straits, and had very faire wind til they came thither, and entring the Straits twentie leagues, the storme of Westerly windes tooke them, and drove three of them ashoare, and the other went into the Sea, and the storme being past, hee returned into the Strait to seeke his companions, and found many men going on the shoare side, but the ships were beaten all in pieces, and they on the Land called unto the ship. But the Captaine seeing that his ship was but little, and had small store of victuals, he would not goe to them ashoare, but went on his Voyage, and passed the Straits, and because he was alone, he would not goe to the Moluccas, but went to the Coast of Peru unto the Citie of Lima, where the ship is yet unto this day, the men that were in the Straits, where the three ships were cast away, were to the number of two hundred and fiftie men, whose Captaine was called Queros, being Kinsman to the Bishop of Placentia, it is fortie yeeres since these men were left there, but never heard of unto this day. A yeere after this, certaine Merchants of the Groine in Galizia, set forth other three ships, which ship also came to the Straits mouth, where one of them was cast away withall the men, and the other returned for Spaine, also I have had intelligence that there hath beene certaine Portugall ships, which have come to the mouth of the

Captaine Queros. Oviedo cals him Zamargo.

Straits, and lost two of their Pinnasses which they sent to know the Land, and so the ships returned, and after these other two French ships were sent from the River of Jenero, by Monsieur de villagagnon over for the Straits, but when they came into the height of fortie five degrees they put backe againe by a great storme of contrary winds. After all this the Governour of Chili, called Don Garcia de Mendoza Sonne to the Marquesse of Taneta, would also discover the Straits from the South Sea, and sent from Chili two ships with a Captaine called Latherelio; but the danger to seeke the Straits by the South Sea, is more then by the North Sea, because all the stormes on the North Sea, come from the Land, and in the South Sea the wind and stormes came all out of the Sea, and forceth the ship on the shoare, so that these two ships were lost in fiftie degrees. The seeking of the Straits of Magelanes is so dangerous, and the Voyage so troublesome, that it is almost unpossible to be obtained, so that for the space of thirtie yeeres, no man made account of it, till of late yeeres one Francis Drake an Englishman, &c.

Fr. Drake. You have his and Candishes, and other English and Dutch voyages thorow the Straits before.

Captaine Drake carried from the Coast of Peru, eight hundred sixtie sixe thousand pieces of silver, which is eight hundred sixtie sixe Kintals at a hundred pound waight, the Kintall, and every Kintall is worth twelve hundred Duckets of Spaine, which is a Million, thirtie nine thousand and two hundred Duckets, besides this, he carried away a hundred thousand pieces of Gold, which is ten Kintals, and every Kintall is worth fifteene hundred Duckets of Spaine, which amounteth to a hundred and fiftie thousand Duckets, besides that which hee had in the ship that was not customed, which I doe not know of, as well Pearles, Precious stones, and other things of great value, besides the money he had in coine, with all this he went towards Nova Hispania: and at an Iland which is before you come there called The Iland of Cockles, he discharged all things out of his ship and graved her there, and remayned there fiftie

The Iland of Cockels. Others say the Iland of Cario.

dayes, from hence he went along the Coast of Hispania, where he tooke many ships laden with Spices, Silkes, and Velvets: but no Gold nor Silver, for here is none on this Coast.

Pedro Sarmiento was sent to the Straits with two ships, and at the Straits met with a storme, and he not knowing how, nor which way in a night he was put into the Straits, the other ship runne more into the Sea, and came into fiftie eight degrees, the storme being past, he found many Ilands joyning to the maine Lands, and so returned with faire weather all along the shoare, and never found any other way to enter the Straits, but only that which Magellanes did discover, which is thought to be otherwise by the sayings of others, which affirme the Straits to be full of Ilands, to the Southwards. [IV. vii. 1440.]

Fiftie degrees five minutes.

Pedro Sarmiento entred the Straits, where his men were in a mutinie, and would have returned for Lima, but he hanged one of them, and so went on his Voyage for Spaine, and told the King that there were two narrow points in the Straits, where he might build a Fort, and that the Straits was a very good Countrey, and had great store of Riches and other necessaries, and very well inhabited with Indians. Upon whose words, and for that there were more ships making readie in England to passe the Straits; The King sent Diego Floris de Valdes with three and twentie ships, and three thousand five hundred men, as also the Governour of Chili, with five hundred old Souldiers new come out of Flanders. These ships had the hardest hap of any ships that went out of Spaine since the Indies were found, for that before they came from the Coast of Spaine, a storme tooke them and cast away five of the shippes, and lost in them above eight hundred men, and the rest put into Calls, notwithstanding the King sent them word that yet they should proceed: and so did with sixteene saile of ships, for that other two ships were so shaken with the storme that they

Pedro Sarmiento.

D. F. de Valdes his disadventures.

could not goe, and in the sixteenth saile Pedro Sarmiento was sent to bee Governour in the Straits, and had committed unto him five hundred men for to stay in the Straits: he had also all kind of Artificers to make his Forts and other necessaries, with great store of Ordnance and other Munition.

This fleet because it was late, did winter on the Coast of Brasill in the River of Jenero, and from hence they went where the Winter was past, and about the height of fortie two degrees they had a storme, so that Diego Flores beat up and downe about two and twentie dayes, in which time he had one of his best ships sunke in the Sea, and in her three hundred men and twentie women, that went to inhabit the Straits, and also most part of the munition that should bee left in the Straits. In the end the storme grew so great, that the ships might not indure it any longer, but were put back againe unto an Iland called Saint Catalina, and there he found a Barke, wherein were certaine Friers going for the River of Plate, which Friers told him of two great ships of England, and a Pinnasse that had taken them, but tooke nothing from them, nor did them any harme, but only asked them for the King of Spaines shippes. Now Diego Flores knowing that these English shippes would goe to the Straits, hee also was determined to goe to the Straits, although it was the moneth of February, and choosing ten ships of the fifteene that were left, hee sent three ships that were old and shaken with the storme, he put in them all the women and sick men that were in the fleet, and sent them to the River of Jenero: and left two other ships which were not for the Sea at the Iland, and he with the other ten ships returned againe for the Straits. Now the three ships in which the sicke men and women were, came to the Port of Saint Vincent, where they found the two English ships, so they would have the Englishmen gone out of the Harbour, and hereupon they fell at fight, and because that these three ships were weake

The River of Jenero.

Port of Saint Vincent.

Fenton.

with the foule weather that they had, as also the men were the refuse of all the fleet, the Englishmen easily put them to the worst, and sunke one of them, and might have sunke another if they would, but they minded not the destruction of any man: for it is the greatest vertue that can be in any man, that when he may doe hurt, he will not doe it.

Upon this the Englishmen went from this Port to Spirito Sancto, where they had victuals for their Merchandize, and so returned home to England, without doing any harme in the Country.

John Drake went from them in the Pinnasse (the cause why I know not) but the Pinnasse came into the River of Plate, and within five leagues of Seale Iland, not far from the place where the Earle of Cumberlands ships tooke in fresh water, this said Pinnasse was cast away upon a ledge of Rockes, but the men were all saved in the Boate. They were eighteene men, and went ashoare upon the North shoare, and went a dayes journey into the Land, where they met with the Savage people, these people are no man-eaters, but take all the Christians that they can, and make them there slaves, but the Englishmen fought with them, and the Savages slue five Englishmen, and tooke the other thirteene alive, which were with the Savages about fifteene monethes. But the Master of the Pinnasse, which was Richard Faireweather, beeing not able to indure this misery that hee was in, and having knowledge that there was a Towne of Christians on the other side of the River, he in the night called John Drake, and another young man which was with them, and tooke a Canoa which was very little, and had but two Oares, and so passed to the other side of the River, which is above nine leagues broad, and were three dayes before they could get over, and in this time they had no meate, and comming to land, they hit upon a high way that went towards the Christians and seeing the footing of Horses, they follow it, and at last came to a House where as there was

John Drake.

Seale Iland.

Richard Faireweather.

Corne sowed, and there they met with Indians which were Servants unto the Spaniards, which gave them to eate, and clothes to cover them, for they were all naked; and one of the Indians went to the Towne, and told them of the Englishmen, so the Captaine sent foure Horsemen, which brought them to the Towne behind them, then the Captayne clothed them, and provided for them lodging, and John Drake sate at the Captaines Table, and so intreated them very well, thinking to send them for Spaine. But the Vice-roy of Peru hearing of this, sent for them, so they sent him John Drake, but the other two they kept, because that they were married in the Countrey. Thus I know no more of their affaires. But upon this newes, there were prepared fiftie Horsemen to goe over the River, to seeke the rest of the Englishmen and Spaniards, that were also among these Savage people, but I am not certaine where they went forward or not.

[IV. vii. 1441.]

But now let us returne to Diego Flores, who passed from the Iland of Santa Catalina, towards the Straits in the middle of February, and comming in the height of the River of Plate, hee sent the Governour of Chili, with three ships up the River Bonas Ayres, and so to go over land to Chili. Of these three ships they lost two, but saved the men and the other provision, and the third returned for Spaine. Then Diego Flores with the other seven ships came as high as fiftie two degrees, which is the mouth of the Straits, and because it was the end of March, which is the latter end of Summer, so that the Countrey was full of snow, and withall a sudden storme came, that he could not see Sarmiento and his men ashoare, but returned the second time to the Coast of Brasill, to the River of Jenero, where he heard newes of the English ships, by the two ships that escaped from the Englishmen, whereupon hee left his Lieutenant Diego de Ribera, and Sarmiento, that they might the next yeere returne for the Straits. So Diego de Flores with foure ships which hee had

Bonos Ayres.

left, and other foure which the King had sent to succour him, went all along the Coast to seeke for the Englishmen, but could not find them, for they were gone directly for England, so he went unto a Port called Parayna, where he found five French ships, and burnt three, and tooke two, and also the Fort that the Frenchmen had, and put in Spaniards, and the Frenchmen runne into the Mountaynes to the Savages, this done, he returned for Spaine. And his Lieutenant Diego de Ribera, and Sarmiento had the next yeere such good fortune, that they arrived safely into the Straits with all their ships, and so set ashore foure hundred men, and because the ships Boat could not land being once laden, the ship that had all the victuals and munition, that ship they runne ashoare in a Bay, and as the water did ebbe they tooke all things out of her, this beeing done, Diego de Ribera left Sarmiento with foure hundred men, thirtie women, and a ship with victuals for eight moneths, and with the other three returned, being in the Straits but eight dayes.

Parayna.

Now Pedro Sarmiento made a Towne at the mouth of the Straits on the Northside, and put therein a hundred and fiftie men, and from hence hee went by Land, and sent the ship further into the Straits, and fiftie leagues within the Straits at the narrowest place of all, where is a very good Port, here he made another Towne, which he named the Towne of King Philip, and also would have made a Fort, and planted Ordnance for the defence of the Straits, but the Snow and the Winter was so great, that hee could not proceed in it; but hee tooke above five and twentie Mariners into the ship with him, and said, hee would goe see how the other people did, and so came to the Straits mouth to the Towne, and after hee had beene there a day or two with them, he said, that a storme put him from the Straits by force, and broke his Cables (but his men said to the contrary, that he himselfe cut his Cables; God knoweth the truth) and so he came to

Pedro Sarmiento builded within the Straits.
Two townes in the Straits Nombre de Jesus and Philips Citie.

the River of Jenero: and not finding any succour there came from the King, hee went to Pernambocke, asking aide of the Captaine for victuals, the Captaine incontinent, laded his ship with victuals and clothes for the men, so that having these things, hee tooke his way for the Straites, but betweene the Cape of Saint Augustine, and the Baya, the wind came out of the Sea, with such violence, that it forced the ship to runne ashore, where Sarmiento had three of his men drowned, and he with the rest hardly escaped; the ship was lost, and all that was in her. And then he came by Land to the Baya, and the Governour of Brasill, bought a Barke that was there in the Harbour, and lading her with victuals and clothes for the men, hee having this provision, with divers other more that were needfull for his men, he tooke his Voyage for the Straits, and comming as high as fortie foure degrees, he met with a sudden storme, and was forced to throw all over-boord that he carried, and was yet in the end compelled to returne for the River of Jenero: where hee stayed for succour from the King a whole yeere; but there came not so much as a Letter for him, for the King was sore grieved at Pedro Sarmiento, because he told him that in the narrowest place of the Straits it was but a mile over, but Diego de Ribera and others told the King that it was above a league broad, that if a ship came with wind and current, all the Ordnance in the World could not hurt them, whereby the King thought that Pedro Sarmiento had deceived him, in making him to lose so many men, and to be at so great a charges to no effect. Also the Governour of Baya, seeing the King wrote not to him, would give Sarmiento no more succour, wherefore Sarmiento went in his ship for Spaine, which he came last in from the Straits, and it is said, that he was taken by Englishmen, and so carried for England. It is reported that this Sarmiento is the best Mariner in all Spaine, and hath sayled farthest. After all this, the Captaine of the River Jenero, sent a small ship

Sarmiento was taken by Sir W. Raleighs Barkes.

with victuals for the Straits, but was also put backe in fortie degrees. This is all the Discovery that hath beene of the Straits of Magelanes, as well by the Spaniards, as other Nations, unto this yeere 1586. It is foure yeeres since these poore and miserable Spaniards were left in the Straits, from which time there hath no succour gone unto them, so God he knoweth whether they be dead or alive.

This discourse was written 1586. 1583. [IV. vii. 1442.]

The Land that lieth from the Straits to the Coast of Chili, no man hath travelled it by land, because of the great Mountaines of Snow that lye in that Countrey, as also I may well say, that it hath not often beene done by Sea, for that all the ships that have passed that way, have at the least gone thirtie leagues of the shore, because of the shoalds, and many little Ilands that lie of the mayne land, and therefore there is nothing knowne what is in that Countrey. The first Inhabitance that you have after you passe the Straits, is one on the Coast of Chili, and is called Castro, it is the worst place of all the Coast, for that in it there is small store of Gold, and little victuall, and very cold; this place is compassed with many shoalds, so that it is a Port but for small Barkes. The next to this is Baldivia, but before I passe any further, I will declare unto you the situation of Chili.

Castro. *Baldivia.* *Chili.*

This Coast lieth North and South, and is in length above a hundred leagues; and it is not in breadth above five and twentie leagues at the most, there runne from the great Mountaines into the Sea great store of Rivers, which maketh many Valleyes, and is the fruitfullest land in the World, for that it hath bread, wine, and other victuals great store. These Rivers bee very rich of Gold, and for to shew you in few words all that this Province hath: I say, that this land lacketh nothing, but might be called Paradise, but for that it lacketh only one thing, and that is peace. This land was first discovered in this order, after the Spaniards had conquered the Kingdome of Peru, as hereafter I

How Chili was first discovered.

will shew unto you, they found in this Kingdome of Peru great store of Gold, and asking the Indians from whence it came, they answered from Chili, wherefore Don Diego de Almagro, which was one of the Captaines that conquered Peru, went upon this newes toward Chili with three hundred Horsemen. Now he must go round about the Mountains of Snow, which way the Indians that were his guides, did carrie this Captaine, because they should die all of cold. Yet the Spaniards, although they lost some of their Horses, came to the first *Copiapo.* Inhabitance of Chili, called Copiapo: which is the first plain land in the entring of the Province, but from hence he returned backe againe for Peru, because he had newes that the Indians had risen against the Spaniards, & enclosed them; upon which newes he returned without going any farther into the Countrey. Now this Captayne Don Diego de Almagro, beeing slaine in the Warres of Peru, after his death, another *Pedro de Valdivia.* Captayne called Don Pedro de Baldivia, with foure hundred Horsemen went unto Chili, and with small labour he overcame halfe the Countrey, which were subject to the Kings of Peru, for they of Chili, knowing that Peru was overcome by the Spaniards, they straight way yeelded the Land unto the Spaniards, but the other halfe which was the richest, and the fruitfullest part, so had God made the men the valiants and most furious that shall be found among all the Savage people in the whole Land.

El Estado de Arauca. The Province which they inhabit, called El Estado de Arauco, is but a small Province about twentie leagues in length, and is governed by ten principall men of the Countrey, out of which ten they choose the valiantest man for their Generall in the Warres. The Kings of Peru in times past could never conquer this part of Chili, nor yet any other Kings of the Indians. The weapons used by these people of Arauco are long Pikes, Halberds, Bowes and Arrowes: they also make them Jacks of Seale-skinnes, and Head-pieces: in times

past the heads of their Halberds and Pikes were of Brasse, but now they have gotten store of Iron. They pitch their battels in manner like the Christians: for putting their Pikemen in rankes, they place Bowmen among them, and marshall their troupes with discretion and great valour. Now the Spaniards comming unto this Province, sent word unto them by other Indians, saying, that they were the children of God, and came to teach them the Word of God, and that therefore they ought to yeeld themselves unto them; if not, they would shoot fire among them and burne them. These people not fearing the great words of the Spaniards, but desiring to see that which they had heard reported, met them in the field, and fought a most cruell battell: but by reason of the Spaniards great Ordnance and Caleevers, they were in the end put to flight. Now these Indians thinking verily that the Spaniards were the children of God, because of their great Ordnance which made such a noise, and breathed out such flames of fire, yeelded themselves unto them. So the Spaniards having divided this Province, made the Indians to serve their turnes, for getting of Gold out of the Mynes, which they enjoyed in such abundance, that he which had least had twentie thousand Pezos, but Captaine Baldivia himselfe had three hundred thousand Pezos by the yeere. The fame of these riches in the end was spred as farre as Spaine; from whence soone after resorted many Spaniards to the land of Chili, whom Captaine Baldivia caused to inhabit sixe Townes: to wit, Villa nueva de la Serena, called in the Indian Tongue Coquimbo; the second Sant Iago, which the Indians call Mapocha; the third, La Conception, called by the Indians Penco; the fourth, La Imperial; the fift, Baldivia; and the sixt, La Villa Rica. Also he built a Fort in the middle of all the land, wherein he put Ordnance and Souldiers: howbeit all this their good successe continued not long: for the Indians in short time perceiving that the Spaniards were but mortall men as well as they, determined to

Villa nueva de la Serena, La Conception, Sant Iago, La Imperial, Baldivia, La Villa Rica, the first six Townes that were inhabited in Chili.

rebell against them: wherefore the first thing that they did, they carried grasse into the said Fort for the Spaniards Horses, and wood also for them to burne, among which grasse the Indians conveyed Bowes and Arrowes, with great Clubs. This done, fiftie of the Indians entred the Fort, betooke themselves to their Bowes, Arrows and Clubs, and stood in the gate of the said Fort: from whence making a signe unto other of their Nation for helpe, they wanne the Fort, and slue all the Spaniards. The newes of this overthrow comming to the Towne of Conception, where Captaine Baldivia was, he presently set forth with two hundred Horsemen, to seeke the Indians; taking no more men with him, because hee was in haste. And in a Plaine hee met the Indians; who comming of purpose also to seeke him, and compassing him about, slue most part of his companie, the rest escaping by the swiftnesse of their Horses: but Baldivia having his Horse slaine under him was taken alive. Whom the Indians wished to be of good courage, and to feare nothing; for the cause (said they) why wee have taken you, is to give you Gold enough. And having made a great banquet for him, the last service of all was a Cup full of melted Gold, which the Indians forced him to drinke, saying, Now glut thy selfe with Gold: and so they killed him. This Baldivia was a most valiant man, who had beene an old Souldier in the Warres of Italie, and at the sacking of Rome.

[IV. vii. 1443.] *A stratagem of the Indians of Chili, against the Spaniards.*

The death of Baldivia.

Upon this discomfiture the Spaniards chose for their Captaine, one Pedro de Villa grande; who assembling all the Spaniards in Chili, and taking with him ten pieces of Ordnance, marched against those Indians; but with so bad successe, that hee lost not onely the field, and many of his men, but also those ten Peeces of Ordnance which he brought. The Indians having thus gotten the victorie, went straightway against the Towne of Concepcion, from whence the Spaniards fled for feare, and left the Towne desolate. And in this manner were the Spaniards

Pedro de Villa grande.

chased by the Indians out of the Countrie of Arauco. But newes hereof being brought to the Marquesse of Cannete, Vice-roy of Peru, he sent his sonne Don Garcia de Mendoza, against those Indians, with a great power of Horsemen, and Footmen, and store of Artilerie. This Nobleman having subdued Chili againe, and slaine in divers battels above fortie thousand Indians, and brought them the second time under the Spaniards subjection, newly erected the said Fort, that stood in the midst of the Land, inhabited the Towne of Concepcion againe, and built other Townes for the Spaniards: and so leaving the Land in peace, he returned for Peru. But ere he was cleane departed out of the land, the Indians rebelled again, but could not do so much mischiefe as they did before, because the Spaniards tooke better heed unto them. From that time until this present, there hath beene no peace at all; for notwithstanding many Captaines and Souldiers have done their uttermost, yet can they not bring that People wholly in subjection. And although the Spaniards have in this Province eleven Townes and two Bishoprikes, yet have they little enough to maintayne themselves, by reason of the Warres; for they spend all the Gold that the Land yeeldeth in the maintenance of their Souldiers: which would not bee so, if they had peace; for then they might worke in all their Mines.

Don Garcia de Mendoza.

11. Towns, and 2. Bishoprikes in Chili.

Thus having spoken somwhat of the situation of Chili, and of the troublesome conquest thereof, I will returne to my former discourse where I left, Baldivia therefore being of 150. houses, hath twice beene burnt and spoyled by the Indians; so that now it is waxen poore, but before the Indians sacked it, it was very rich: and it standeth up a River foure leagues from the Sea. Passing from hence you come to the plaine Countrie of Arauco, being situate over against the Iland La Mocha, on which Iland the Indians that inhabite belong to the maine Land.

A description of the Townes of Chili. Baldivia.

The Province of Arauco, over against the Iland La Mocha, situate in 38. degrees and a halfe.

Having passed this Plaine of Arauco, the next Towne

La Concepcion. of the Spaniards that you come unto, is La Concepcion which hath beene the greatest and the richest Towne in all Chili; but by reason that the Indians have burned the same foure times, it is now growne very poore, and hath small store of people: it containeth about some two hundred houses. And because it adjoyneth upon the Plane of Arauco, where these valiant Indians bee, therefore this Towne is environed about with a strong wall, and hath a Fort built hard by it: and here are five hundred Souldiers continually in Garrison. Betweene *Valparizo, which is the Port of S. Iago standeth in 33. degr. 40. min.* this place and Valparizo, the Indians call the Coast by the name of Mapocha. Sant Iago it selfe standing five and twentie leagues up into the Countrie, is the principall Towne of all Chili, and the seat of the Governour; it consisteth of about eight hundred houses. The Port of Valparizo whither the goods come from Lima by shipping, hath about twentie houses standing by it. The *Coquimbo standeth in 29. deg. 30. min.* next Towne neere the Sea side beyond this is Coquimbo, which standeth two leagues up into the Land, and containeth about two hundred houses. Next unto Coquimbo *Copiapo.* standeth a Port-towne, called Copiapo, inhabited altogether by Indians which serve the Spaniards: and here a Gentleman which is Governour of the Towne hath an Ingenio for Sugar: at this place endeth the whole Province of Chili. Here also the Mountaines joyning hard upon the Sea, are the cause why all the Land betweene Copiapo and Peru, contayning one hundred and sixtie leagues, lieth desolate.

A description of Peru. The first Towne on the Coast of Peru, called Atacama, is inhabited by Indians which are slaves unto the Spaniards. But before I passe any further I will here also declare unto you the first Discoverie of Peru, with other matters thereto belonging, and then will I returne to the Sea-coast againe: and to the end you may understand me the better, I will beginne with Panama. After that the Spaniards had inhabited the North side of this mayne Land, passing over the Mountains they discovered the South Sea: where because they found Indian people with

Gold and Pearles, they built a Towne eighteene leagues to the West of Nombre de Dios, hard upon the Sea side, and called it Panama. From hence they discovered along the Coast of Nueva Espanna: and for that Nueva Espanna was at the same time inhabited by Spaniards, there beganne a trade from thence to Panama: but from Panama by Sea to the Coast of Peru they could not trade in a long time, because of the Southerly windes blowing on this Coast almost all the yeere long, which are a hinderance to ships sayling that way: and by Land the passage was impossible, in regard of Mountaines and Rivers: Yea it was fifteene yeeres before they passed the Iland of Pearles, which is but twentie leagues from Panama. There were at this time in Panama two men, the one called Francisco Pizarro, borne in the Citie of Truxillo in Spaine, a valiant man, but withall poore; the other, called Diego de Almagro, was very rich. These men got a companie unto them, and provided two Caravels to discover the Coast of Peru: and having obtayned licence of the Governour of that place, Francisco Pizarro set forth with the two foresaid Caravels, and an hundred men; and Diego de Almagro stayed in Panama, to send him Victuals and other necessaries. Now Francisco Pizarro sayling along the Coast, met with contrary windes and raine, which put him to great trouble; and hee began also after a while to lacke victuals, for hee was sayling of that in eight moneths, which they now passe in fifteene dayes, and not knowing the right course, hee ranne into every River and Bay that hee saw along the Coast; which was the chiefe cause that he stayed so long on his Voyage: also thirtie of his companie died by reason of the unhealthfulnesse of the coast. At last he came to an Iland called by him Isla del Gallo, being situate from the maine Land sixe leagues. From hence he sent one of his ships to Panama, for a new supplie of victuals, and of men: which ship being departed, fortie of his men that remayned behinde made a mutinie, and passed up into the Countrie, [IV. vii. 1444.]

Isla del Gallo.

meaning to returne by Land to Panama, but in the way they all perished, for they were never heard of untill this day. So that Francisco Pizarro was left upon the said Iland onely with thirteene men: who although hee had his ship there, in which he might have returned, yet would hee rather die then goe backe; and his thirteene men also were of his opinion, notwithstanding that they had no other victuals, but such as they had from the maine Land in the night season. Thus hee continued nine moneths, before any succour was brought him from Panama: but in the end his ship returned with fortie men onely, and victuals: whereupon hee prosecuted his Voyage, till hee came to the first plaine Countrie of Peru, *Tumbez.* called Tumbez, where hee found a Fort made by the King of Peru, against the Indians of the Mountaines. Wherefore Pizarro, and his men were very glad, in that they had found a People of so good understanding and discretion, being rich also in Gold, and Silver, and well apparelled. At this Port of Tumbez, hee tooke thirtie thousand Pezos of Gold in trucke of Merchandise, and having too few men to proceed any further, he carried two Indians with him, to learne the Language, and returned backe for Panama. Upon this Discoverie, Francisco Pizarro thought it expedient to travell into Spaine, to crave of the King the Conquest of this Land. Whither being come, the King granted his request. And with the money which he carried over with him, he hired a great number of men, with a Fleet of shippes, and brought also along with him foure of his Brethren, very valiant and hardy men. And being come to Panama, he straightway went on his Voyage for Peru, being accompanied with his Partner, Diego de Almagro. They sayled first to the Iland, called Isla de Gallo; where Francisco Pizarro, and his Brethren went on Land, and left Diego de Almagro in the ships. And the whole number which afterward landed on the mayne Land were sixtie Horsemen, and one hundred and twentie Footmen, with two great Field-peeces.

But before we proceed any further, wee thinke it not amisse to describe unto you the situation of Peru, and the naturall disposition of the Inhabitants: This Countrie was called Peru, by the Spaniards, of a River so named by the Indians, where they first came to the sight of Gold. From which River standing under the Line, till you come to Copiapo, the first Towne on the Coast of Chili, stretcheth the Land of Peru, for the space of eight hundred leagues: upon sixe hundred whereof, from Atacama to Tumbez, did never drop of raine fall, since the Floud of Noah: and yet is it the fruitfullest Land for all kinde of victuals, and other necessaries for the sustentation of mans life, that is to bee found in all the world besides. The reason why it raineth not in this Land, is because it being a plaine Countrie, and very narrow, and lowe, situate betweene the Equinoctiall and the Tropike of Capricorne, there runneth on the West frontier, not above twenty leagues from the Sea called Mar de Sur, Eastward thereof, a mightie ridge of high Mountaines covered with snowe; the heigth of which Mountaines so draweth the moisture of the cloudes unto it self, that no raine falleth upon the Vallies of Peru. From these Mountains issue great store of Rivers into the South Sea, with the waters whereof drawn by certaine sluces and chanels, they moisten their Vineyards and Corne-fields, and by this meanes the Land is so exceeding fruitfull. Betweene these Mountaines and the Mountaines of Chili, that stretch unto the Straites of Magellan, lieth a Plaine of sixtie leagues over, being so cold, that it yeeldeth no Wheat, but good store of other victuals. This Countrie of Peru is full of people well apparelled, and of civill behaviour. It hath many mines of Gold, and more of Silver, as also great store of Copper, and Tinne-mines, with abundance of Saltpeter, and of Brimstone to make Gun-powder. There are likewise Cattell of all sorts, among which there is a beast, in shape somewhat resembling a Camell, but no bigger then a Steere of a yeere old; they serve to carrie burdens, their flesh

The River of Peru.

The cause why it raineth not in Peru.

Gold, Silver, Copper, Tin, Saltpetre, and Brimstone.

[IV. vii. 1445.]

The sheepe of Peru, called Llamas.

being good to eate, and their wooll apt for many purposes. This beast is accounted the most profitable of all others, for the use of man: howbeit the Spaniards since their first comming have replenished this Countrie with Horses, Kine, Sheep and Goats, and likewise with plenty of Wheat. So that in few words, this Land hath abundance of riches and victuals, and is the healthfullest place in the world. There were in times past Kings of this Land which were mighty Monarchs, whose Dominions stretched twelve hundred leagues, and their Lawes were very civill, save that they were worshippers of the Sunne. At what time the Spaniards first entred this Land, there were two Brethren of the bloud Royall, which strove who should have the Kingdome, the one called Mango Inga, and the other, Atabalipa. Now Mango had possession of all the Mountaines and the Land within them: and Atabalipa was Lord of all the Sea-coast, and of the Vallies situate between the said Mountaines and the Sea. The Indians seeing the Spaniards at the first arrive upon their shoare, called them Vira coche, which in their Language signifieth, The fome of the Sea. Also Atabalipa the Indian Prince sent unto them to know what they did in his Land, and what they sought for: the Spaniards made answer, that they were the messengers of a great Lord, and that they came to speake with the Prince himselfe: who sent them word, that they should come with a very good-will; and so Atabalipa stayed for them at a Citie called Caxamalca, being thirtie leagues distant from the Sea side. Whither being come, they found the Indian Prince sitting in a Chariot of Gold, carried upon mens shoulders, and accompanied with above sixtie thousand Indians all ready armed for the warres. Then the Spaniards told them that they were sent from an Emperour (unto whom the Pope had given all that Land) to convert them unto the Christian Faith. Whereunto Atabalipa answered, that he would gladly be friends with the Emperour, because he was so great a Monarch, but in no case with

Atabalipa and Mango, by others called Gaspar, in strife.

the Pope, because he gave to another that which was none of his owne.

Now while they were thus in talke, the Spaniards discharging their two Field-peeces, and their Calivers, set upon the Indians, crying, Sant Iago. The Indians hearing the noise of the Ordnance, and small shot, and seeing the fire, thought that flames of fire had beene come downe from Heaven upon them; whereupon they fled, and left their Prince as a bootie for the Spaniards. Whom they at the first intreated very gently, wishing him not to feare, for that their comming was onely to seeke for Gold and Silver. During the time of Atabalipas imprisonment, his Captaines had slaine his Brother Mango, and had subdued all the Mountaines, and plaine Countries. Upon which newes Atabalipa told the Spaniards, that if they would release him, hee would give them all that they should demand. This communication having continued a whole day, at length a Souldier named Soto said unto Atabalipa; what wilt thou give us to set thee free? The Prince answered, I will give whatsoever you will demand. Whereto the Souldier replied, Thou shalt give us this house full of Gold and Silver, thus high, lifting up his sword, and making a stroke upon the wall. And Atabalipa said, that if they would grant him respite to send into his Kingdome, he would fulfill their demand. Whereat the Spaniards much marvelling, gave him three moneths time, but hee had filled the house in two moneths and an halfe; a matter scarce credible, yet most true: for I knowe above twentie men that were there at that time, who all affirme, that it was above ten millions of Gold and Silver. Howbeit, for all this, they let not the Prince goe, but thought that in killing of him they should become Lords of the whole Land, and so the Spaniards on a night strangled him. But God the righteous Judge seeing this villanous act, suffered none of those Spaniards to die by the course of nature, but brought them to evill and shamefull ends.

Upon the newes of these great riches, there came store

of people out of Spaine, and inhabited many places in this Countrie. The King in recompence of the good services of the two foresaid partners, appointed Diego de Almagro Governour of halfe the Land, and Francisco Pizarro of the other halfe, whom also he made a Marquesse. But these two consorts in parting of a Land belonging unto other men, fell at variance and sharpe warre betweene themselves: and at length Pizarro having slaine Almagro, got all the Land into his owne hands. Howbeit, this prosperitie of Pizarro continued not long: for a bastard-sonne of Diego de Almagro, to bee revenged of his fathers death, slue Pizarro, for which act he lost his head. In this controversie betweene these two partners were slaine, also two brothers of Pizarro, and the third was carried prisoner into Spaine, and there died in Prison: but the fourth, called Gonsalvo Pizarro, rebelled with the whole Countrie, and became a cruell Tyrant, vanquishing many of the Emperours Captaines in battell, and possessing the Countrie in peace for two yeeres: howbeit, being in the end overcome, hee lost his head like a Traitour. And thus died they all an evill death, that were causes of the death of that innocent King Atabalipa. And yet there are mutinies raised oftentimes by the Spaniards, but the Indians never rebelled, after they had once peace granted unto them. The Indian people of this Land, are parted among the Spaniards, some being slaves unto the Gentlemen that conquered their Land, other some to others, and the residue to the King: and these Indians pay each man for his tribute seven Pezos of fine Gold, which is about ten Ducats and an halfe. There are in this Countrie above fortie Cities and Townes inhabited by the Spaniards: also they have here erected nine Bishopricks and one Archbishopricke.

[IV. vii. 1446.]

Nine Bishopricks, and one archbishoprick in Peru.

Now after this Countrie was fully conquered and brought in good order, certaine Spaniards being desirous to discover the land on the other side of the snowie Mountaines, found a very wholesome Countrie, and there

inhabited. The said Province situate behinde the Mountaines is called The Province of Tucuman, wherein are five townes inhabited by the Spaniards, the last of them called Cordova, from which towne unto Santa Fee situate upon the River of Plate it is seventie leagues. This towne of Santa Fee was built in that place, to seeke a way to Peru by the River of Plate. And from hence downe the said River to Buenos Ayres are 120. leagues, and from Buenos Ayres unto Seal-island you have 40. leagues. *The Province of Tucuman.* *Cordova.*

Now having put down all that I know concerning the Countrie of Peru, and of the way from the River of Plate unto Tucuman, I will returne unto Atacama the Southermost town upon the coast of Peru, where I left. From this towne of Atacama till you come to Arica, all the coast is inhabited by Indians subject unto the Spaniards. But since Captain Drake was here, they have built Towers by the Sea side, whereon, seeing any saile that they doe mistrust, they presently make smoakes, and so from Tower to Tower they warne all the Countrey. Having before spoken of Arica all that I can, I will now proceede to the next Port called Camana being a Towne of Spaniards, and containing about two hundred houses. Here they make store of Wine, and have abundance of Figges and Reisins. The next Towne called Acari containeth about three hundred houses, and here is made the best and greatest store of Wine in all Peru. From hence passing along the coast you come to El Calao the Port of Lima consisting of about two hundred houses: and here was a strong Fort built since Captaine Drake was upon the coast. The Citie of Lima standing two leagues within the land, and containing two thousand houses, is very rich, and of more trade then all the Cities of Peru besides; and this Citie is the seate of the Viceroy, the Archbishop and the Inquisition. *Atacama.* *Camana.* *Acari.* *El Calao.* *Lima.*

Next unto this standeth a small towne of the Spaniards by the Sea side called Santa: and next unto Santa is another small towne of Christians called Cannete. From *Santa.* *Cannete.*

Truxillo. hence they saile unto a rich Citie called Truxillo, being one of the principall townes of Peru, and containing about

Paita. five hundred houses. Then followeth Paita which hath to the number of two hundred houses. Leaving this

Guaiaquil. towne they passe to Guaiaquil which standeth fortie leagues up into a great Bay or River, at the entrance

Tumbez. of which River standeth Tumbez, a towne of the Indians. All this coast along from Atacama to Tumbez it never raineth, as I have before said: so that all the houses in their townes are not tyled, but covered with boords to keepe off the heate of the Sunne, for they feare no raine at all. Guaiaquil is the first place where it raineth,

Salsaperilla. and here they gather Salsaperilla. Here is also great

Ships built at Guaiaquil. store of timber, and at this place they build many Ships. Hence they saile along the coast to a small and

Puerco Vicio a place where Emralds abound. poore towne called Puerto Vicio, which in times past hath beene rich with Emralds: but now since these stones in regard of their plenty are growne nothing worth, this towne likewise is waxen very poore. Below this Village

La Buena ventura. standeth another called La Buena Ventura: but whosoever goe thither must needes meete with evill fortune, the place it selfe is so waterish and unholesome. Here abide not above twentie men, who serve onely to transport goods into a Citie standing fiftie leagues within the

La governacion de Popaian. maine, in a Province called La governacion de Popaian. From Buena ventura and Popaian till you come to Panama there is no other towne, by reason of the high Mountaines, the manifold Rivers, and the unholesomenesse of the Countrie. In this place doe inhabit the

Negros fled from their Masters. Negros that run from their Masters, and upon these Mountaines was Oxenham the English Captaine and his men taken, as is before mentioned. Beyond these

Panama. Mountains standeth the Citie of Panama, being a rich place, by reason that all the treasure which commeth from Peru is brought thither, and it consisteth of about foure hundred houses. The coast running along betweene

Osta Rico. this Citie and Nueva Espanna is called Costa rica.

Next unto Costa rica, which is a Mountainous and

desolate place, lieth the coast of Nicaragua, being inhabited by the Spaniards, and having many good ports belonging to it, and is frequented with trade of Merchandize; but having no knowledge of the situation thereof, nor of the towns therein contained, I surcease to speake any more of it. *The Province of Nicaragua.*

A certaine Viceroy of Nueva Espanna called Don Luis de Velasco caused certaine Ships to be built for the discovery of the Malucos and of the coast of China: which Ships in sailing thitherward from certaine Islands, eightie leagues distant from the maine land, which the Spaniards, according to the name of their King, called The Philippinas: and having conquered one of these Ilands called Manilla, inhabited with a barbarous kinde of people, they built a fort and a towne thereupon, from whence they have trade with the people of China. Unto these Islands they have foure great Ships that usually trade, two of them continually going, and two comming: so that such Spices and Silkes as the Portugals bring home out of the East Indies, the very same doe the Spaniards bring from these Islands and from China, for Mexico the chiefe Citie of Nueva Espanna. The principall Port townes of the coast of Nueva Espanna are Guatulco, and Acapulco. *The discovery of the Philippinas.* *The Isle of Manilla.*

All the Viceroyes and Governours that the King of Spaine sendeth for Peru and Nueva Espanna have a custome, for the obtaining of his favour, to seeke and discover new Countries. But the greatest and most notable discovery that hath beene from those parts now of late, was that of the Isles of Salomon, which were found in manner following. The Licenciate Castro being governour of Peru, sent forth a Fleete of Ships to discover certaine Islands in the South Sea, upon the coast of Peru, appointing as Generall of the same Fleete a kinsman of his, called Alvares de Mendanio, and Pedro Sarmiento as Lieutenant, and in the Viceadmirall went Pedro de Ortega. This Fleete departing forth of the haven of Lima, and sailing 800. leagues Westward off the coast [IV. vii. 1447.] *The discovery of the Isles of Salomon.*

of Peru, found certaine Islands in eleven degrees to the South of the Equinoctiall, inhabited with a kinde of people of a yellowish complexion, and all naked, whose weapons are Bowes and Arrowes, and Darts. The Beasts that they saw here were Hogs and little Dogs, and they found some Hens. Here also they found a muster of Cloves, Ginger, and Sinamon, although the Sinamon were not of the best; and here appeared unto them likewise some shew of Gold. The first Island that the Spaniards discovered, they named Santa Izabella; and here they built a small Pinnace, with the which, and with their Ships Boate they found out betweene nine and fifteene degrees of Southerly latitude, eleven great Islands, being one with another of eightie leagues in compasse. The greatest Island that they discovered was according unto the first finder, called Guadalcanal, on the coast whereof they sailed 150. leagues, before they could know whether it were an Island or part of the maine land: and yet they know not perfectly what to make of it, but thinke that it may be part of that continent which stretcheth to the Streights of Magellan; for they coasted it to eighteene degrees, and could not finde the end thereof. The Gold that they found was upon this Island, or maine land of Guadalcanal, whereas they landed and tooke a towne, finding small graines of Gold hanged up in the houses thereof. But because the Spaniards understood not the language of the Countrey, and also for that the Indians were very stout men, and fought continually against them, they could never learne from whence that Gold came, nor yet what store was in the Land.

Cloves, Ginger, and Sinamon.

The Isle of Guadalcanal.

These Indians use to goe to Sea in great Canoas, that will carrie one hundred men a piece, wherein they have many conflicts one against another: howbeit unto the Christians they could doe no great hurt; for that with a small Pinnace and two Falcons a few may overcome one hundred of them. At this place foureteene men mistrusting nothing, rowed to land, to take in fresh water, whom on the sodaine certaine Indians in foure Canoas

set upon, tooke the Ships Boate, and slew all the men therein: wherefore a man cannot goe on shore too strong, nor yet be too warie in a strange land. Hereupon the Spaniards went on shore in their Pinnace, and burnt the Towne, and in this towne they found the small graines of Gold before mentioned. They were discovering of these Islands from one to another about foureteene moneths, at the end of which time (because that upon the coast where they were, the winde continuing still in one place, might be an occasion of longer tarrying) they consulted which way to returne. Southward they durst not goe for feare of great tempests which are that way usuall: wherefore sayling to the North of the line, they fell with the coast of Nueva Espanna; on which coast they met with such terrible stormes, that they were forced to cut their maine masts over-boord, and to lye nine moneths beating it up and downe in the Sea, before they could get into any harbour of the Christians. In which time, by reason of evill government, and for lacke of victuals and fresh water, most of the men in their Admirall dyed; for five whole dayes together they had neither water nor meate: but in the other Ships they behaved themselves so well, that the greater part of them came safe unto the land. He that passeth the Straits of Magellan: or saileth from the coast of Chili directly for the Malucos, must needes runne in sight of some of these Islands before spoken of. At which Islands lying so conveniently in the way to the Malucos, you may furnish your selfe with plenty of victuals, as Hogs, Hennes, excellent Almonds, Potatos, Sugar-canes, with divers other sorts fit for the sustenance of man in great abundance. Also among these Islands you shall have some quantity of Gold, which the Indians will give you in trucke for other commodities. For the Spaniards in their discovery of these Islands, not seeking nor being desirous of Gold, brought home notwithstanding 40000. pezos with them, besides great store of Cloves and Ginger, and some Sinamon also, which is not so good as in other

A Town burnt.

Abundance of good victuals upon the Iles of Salomon.

A new rich trade for Gold, Cloves, Ginger, and Sinamon.

Why these Isles were called the Isles of Salomon.

places. The discoverer of these Islands named them the Isles of Salomon, to the end that the Spaniards supposing them to be those Isles from whence Salomon fetched Gold to adorne the Temple at Jerusalem, might be the more desirous to goe and inhabit the same. Now the same time when they thought to have sent colonies unto these Islands, Captaine Drake entered the South Sea; whereupon commandement was given, that they should not be inhabited, to the end that such Englishmen, and of other Nations as passed the Straits of Magellan to goe to the Malucos, might have no succour there, but such as they got of the Indian people.

[IV. vii. 1448.]

Chap. XII.

Briefe extracts translated out of Jerom Benzos, three Bookes of the New World, touching the Spaniards cruell handling of the Indians, and the effects thereof.

Ben. l. 1. c. 1. He served 14. yeares in the Spanish-Indian expeditions. C. 2. C. 3.

ANno 1614. Jerom Benzo went from Millaine to Sivill in Spaine, and thence to the New World, where he was entertained of the Spaniards, and practised with them the huntings of the Indians, which they did by lurking in coverts, till some of the Natives came within their reach; by bribing the Cacikes with trifles to procure captives, and other meanes. Peter Chalice came while we were there to Amaracan with above 4000. slaves, and had brought many more, but with labour, wearinesse, hunger, and griefe, for losse of their Countrie and friends, many had perished in the way. Many also not able to follow in the Spaniards swift march, were by them killed to prevent their taking armes. A miserable spectacle to see those troopes of slaves naked, with their bodies rent, maimed, starved: the mothers dragging or carrying on their shoulders their children howling, the neckes of all, armes and hands chained; not any growne Maide amongst

Indians spoiled.

them which the spoilers had not ravished, with so profuse lust that thence grew contagion and pernicious diseases. The Spanish horsemen in those warres used quilted Jackes with Launces and Swords; the footemen, Sword, Shield, and Crosse-bow, with lighter Jackes. The moisture and great dewes made Peeces unserviceable in those parts.

The Islanders in Hispaniola seeing no hope of better, or place for worse, killed their children, and then hanged themselves. The women by the juice of a certaine hearbe caused abortions, that they might not procreate slaves to the Spaniards; others hanged themselves, as their husbands had done: some threw themselves from the tops of steepe hils, others into the Sea and Rivers; some starved themselves, and others with sharpe stones ripped and rent out their entrals: so that of two millions there found at first, now scarsely one hundred and fiftie persons remaine. Is this to convert Savages to the Christian faith? The same altogether hath happened in Cuba, Jamaica, Porto Ricco, and other places. Yea whatsoever slaves have beene after carried into the Islands, to prevent their desolation, though in incredible multitudes, have almost all perished with miserie. Once, in whatsoever places the Spaniards have displaied their colours, by their examples of crueltie they have left to the Natives eternall monuments of implacable hatred. *C. 25.*

After the native Islanders were killed with too much labour, the Spaniards procured slaves from Guinnee in great multitudes, and used their services in the Mines; which being exhaust, they employed them in Sugar-mils, and in breeding of Cattell. Some of the Spaniards are so cruell, that if a slave hath not brought his diarie or day-scot, or otherwise hath angred his imperious Master, he strips him naked to cloath him with stripes (according to the Law of Baian, as they call it, devised I thinke by some cruell Divell) his hands and feete bound, and the prostrate slave tied to some crosse timber, with a rod or roape he is beaten till the bloud issue from all parts: after which the Master droppeth scalding Pitch or Oyle *L. 2. C. 1.* *Negro slaves succeede.* *Law of Bayon divellish devise.*

over all that wretched corpes, and then washed with Pepper of the Countrie and Salt mingled with water, he lies on a boord in a sheete or blanket till his Master thinkes him fit for labour. Others make a hole in the ground and there set him, his head onely excepted, all night long, which these Phisitians doe to cleanse and cure the ulcers of corrupt bloud. If any dye in these torments, his Master hath no other punishment but to pay the King another for him. These cruelties caused the Negroes to flie and wander about, till gathering head together they grew dreadfull to the Spanish Ilanders, whom they (when they got any into their hands) repaied with like cruelties. Whiles I was in that Iland, their armie was said to containe 7000. men, insomuch that the Spaniards feared to be driven out by these Moores and Negros. And when as An. 1545. the President Ceratus urged Cesars Edict for the Indians libertie, the Iland was almost brought to a desert, not above 1100. Spaniards remaining therein: which (the strangers increasing) were in danger to loose at once their life with the Iland. And the wonted meanes of getting wealth failing therein, few Spaniards are willing to stay there.

Armie of 7000 fugitives.

C. 9. See Drakes and Oxenhams stories.

Nombre de Dios, in regard of the heate and moisture immoderate, is unholesome, as also for the Westerne Marish or Fenne, whence are frequent funerals of the inhabitants. Not farre from it to the East, some fugitive Negros keepe in the woods, which have slaine many Spaniards, and have entred into league with the Indians, shooting likewise poisoned Arrowes, and killing all the Spaniards which they can get. Gotierez a Spanish Captaine going up the River of Suera, feasted the Cacikes of Suera and Chiuppa, and said that he came thither to reduce them from their Idolatry and the Divels tyrannie, and to shew them the truth: namely, that Jesus Christ the Sonne of God came from heaven to redeeme mankinde: and that he had brought a Priest with him, for no other purpose but to instruct them in Christianitie. Wherefore (said he) prepare your selves

C. 11. Gotierez his converting of Indians.

to the obedience of the Divine Law, and to acknowledge the soveraigntie of Charles the fifth, Cæsar, King of Spaine, and Monarch of the whole world. The Indians answered nothing, and returned home. The next day the Governour sent for two other Caciques by a Spaniard, which trusting on his promise, came, and were bound in his Chamber with hard usage. They had before given him 700. Duckets; now he picked a quarrell with them, and extorted from one 2000. Duckets, wrought in the formes of Tigres, Fishes, Birds, and other creatures: which the Governour seeing smaller then his expectation, caused a great fire to be kindled, and a chest to be brought forth, threatning to burne him, if in foure dayes he did not fill it with Gold six times; which hee promising to doe, found meanes to escape. Other Cacikes of the Countrie hearing hereof, burned their houses, cut downe their fruite trees and corne, and leaving a wildernesse to the Spaniards, fled to the Mountaines. The other Cacike yet in durance, having beene often threatned with death except hee brought the Gold demanded, the Governour commanded to be cast to the Dogs: hee answered, that hee could not but marvell at the Governours vanitie, which had so often threatned that which he had rather should be performed, then to live so miserable a life; contrary to his expectation, which had voluntarily come to him upon his promise. Hee added, that he mervailed much what kinde of creatures Christians were, which executed such mischiefes wheresoever they came, and that the earth could longer beare and nourish such cruell beasts so patiently. [IV. vii. 1449.]

Indian magnanimitie.

But at last the Governour carried him prisoner in a miserable expedition, where at a turning the Governour demanding of a captive Indian, whether way would bring him to some Indian habitation, he answered, he could not tell; whereupon he commanded his Negro slaves to kill him, which was done. Then he demanded of the Cacike, and having like answer, gave like sentence.

He presently threw downe his burden, and prepared his head to the fatall stroke, with such patience, that the Governour remitted it, and gave him his life.

Hungry March. Three starved Spaniards were there left, and after killed by the Indians. The Governour commanded the Dogs to be killed for food, keeping the provisions left to himselfe. I gave my part to another, because of the wormes therein; and went to the Governour, hoping to receive somewhat of him, who sent me to the roots of trees to feed thereon. Then said another Spaniard; Sir Governour, if wee may not share together in good and bad fortune, warre you alone. Hereupon hee divided three pounds of Cheese into foure and thirtie parts amongst us. Two dayes after, the Indians suddenly set on us, and slue the Governour as hee was doing his easement. I with anothers Helmet escaped that showre of stones, wherewith it was then exceedingly battered; and the rest being slaine, with two others fled thorow a troupe of Indians making way to the Hills top, where wee found the Priest, with two others which had escaped by flight in the beginning of the fight, and after that, foure and twentie others joyned themselves to us. The Indians pursued us, armed with our owne weapons, and dauncing about us, cried in the Spanish tongue, Here is Gold Christian, here is Gold. Two which had lurked in the Woods till the Indians were gone, told us, that the Indians had carried away the head, hands and feet of the Governour, and of two Negros, the rest being spoyled were throwne

Indian feare of Horses. into the River. If we had had but foure Horses (these they feare more then all armes) they had never adventured on us. On foot the Spaniards are commonly overcome by them. In the first Mexican expedition, they tooke the Horse and Man to bee but one creature.

Cap. 13. *Examples of covetousnesse.* That which hath carried the Spaniards into those provinces, is onely covetousnesse, whatsoever profession they pretend of Christian Faith. Neither will any of them stay in any place where Gold is not found.

Antonius Sedegnus died with thought after three yeeres travell in Paria with seven hundred men, not finding this golden Sun-shine, fiftie onely of his men returning. *Sedegnus and his 700. men.*

Soto spent in Florida, what he had gotten in Peru. He threatned fifteene Cacikes, to burne them, except they brought him to the place whence they had their Gold. These promised any thing to prevent present execution, and after twelve dayes wandring were sent away with their hands cut off. When he told a Cacike which visited him with a Present, that he was a Christian; the sonne of God, Creator of Heaven and Earth; and came thither to teach them the Divine Law: If thy God, said the Cacike, bids thee robbe, kill, burne, and commit all mischiefe, wee can neither beleeve Him, nor his Law. Soto finding no Mine, died at last of the bloudy Fluxe. The like may be said of Narvaez, twelve of whose companie fell mad with famine, and fell to biting and tearing each other. Of sixe hundred which hee carried forth, scarcely ten returned, which at Mexico reported that with breathing they had cured the sicke, and had raised three dead men to life. But I crave pardon of their holinesse, and shall easier beleeve that they killed foure living men, then that they raised halfe a dead one. Cortez set forth by Velasquez gave him no accounts at all. Peter Alvarado left by Cortez at Mexico, fell upon the Indians amidst their dances, and slue them. And when Cortez had returned from the defeat of Narvaez, and besieged Mexico, the Mexicans gathered all their Gold and Silver, and threw it into the Lake, and by no torments could bee compelled to confesse where it was; although Cortez tortured the Kings Scribe to death, and put the King also to vaine tortures for that purpose. Some say that Cortez strangled him.

Sotos acts in Florida.

Pam. Navarez.

Cortez and Alvarado.

When I first travelled in Nicaragua, I was entertained by a principall Cacike of those parts, called Gonzallus, a man of seventie yeeres of age, and well skilled in the Spanish Tongue. Hee one morning, I

C. 16. [IV. vii. 1450.]

Indians conceit of Christians.

sitting neere him, fixed his eyes on my face, said, Christian, what are Christians? they require Maiz, Honie, Silke, a Garment, an Indian Woman to lie with; they demand Gold, and Silver. Christians will not worke; they are Gamsters, Dicers, lewd and blasphemous. When they goe to Church to heare Masse, they backbite the absent, and they strike and wound each other. Hee concluded, that Christians were not good. I said, they were the bad, and not the good, which did such things: hee replied, Where are those good? for I never yet saw any but bad. I asked, why they suffered Christians to enter their borders. Hee answered, Honest friend, thus it is: When the fame of the cruelty of Christians, which wheresoever they came, filled all with fire, sword and robbery, dispersed in these Provinces, had comne unto us, and wee had heard that they would invade us, wee called a Councell, of all our friends, and generally decreed rather to die then to yeeld our selves subjects to the Christians. When they had entred our Borders, wee made head against them, but most of us after long fight terrified by the Horses, fled. And wee sent two messengers to desire pardon, and peace; with no other purpose but to gaine time to re-enforce our strength. Wee carried them many presents, entertayned them with dances, and within three dayes fell on them againe, but with ill successe; wee seeke peace againe, and after that by common consent decree rather to die then to serve the Christians, and to kill him whosoever shall flee from the battell. Thus wee take Armes. But our Wives come weeping to us, and beseech us rather to serve the Christians, then to die shamefully: otherwise, to kill them first, with their children, that they may not after losse of their husbands, come into the power of those bearded and cruell men. These prayers and teares brake our hearts, and wee voluntarily submitted our persons and goods to the greedy Christians. Some yet, provoked by wrongs, rebell; but were punished grievously by the Christians,

not sparing the very Infants. Others also which were innocent, were made slaves; and wee were then possessors neither of our wives, nor children, nor any thing else. Many impatient hereof, killed their children, others hanged, and others famished themselves: till the King of Castiles Proclamation, by which wee were made free, made an end of those miseries.

The Indians, especially the sonnes of their Cacikes which can write and reade, confesse Gods Commandements good; but wonder that wee, of whom they have them, doe not keepe them, and use thus to say. Ho sir Christian, God forbids to take his Name in vaine, and thou continually for every cause, bee it never so light, swearest and forswearest. God sayth, Thou shalt not beare false witnesse: but you Christians doe nothing but slander, and speake evill. God commands to love your neighbours as your selves, and to forgive one another: You oppresse the poore, are rigorous to your Dettors, and if there be any poore Christians, you give them nothing, but send them for reliefe to our houses. Some of them shewing a piece of Gold, will say, Lo here the Christians God, for this they are comne hither, for this they have subdued us, and done so many mischiefes, for this they are never quiet, but dice, blaspheme, curse, quarell, steale, commit rapes, and doe whatsoever villanie and lust. *Cap.* 18.

There are Monkes which perpetrate those things openly by day-light, which others would bee ashamed to doe by night. And a Franciscan publikly preached, that there was neither Priest, nor Monke, nor Bishop in India, worthie the name of a good man. For they all had given themselves to covetousnesse, and still went to the wealthie Countries, and avoided the poorer. For these words he was apprehended, and carried to Guatimala. I have also heard Priests discoursing together, that they came out of Spaine into India for gaine, and nothing else. A Casikes sonne, when hee was a childe of great towardnesse, proved afterwards *Monkes and Friars.*

very lewd; and being asked the reason, said, Since I was made a Christian, I have learned to sweare by the name of God, and by the Crosse, and by the words of the holy Gospell, and to blaspheme by the life of God; and I denie him, nor doe I beleeve. I have further learned to play with the Die, and never to speake truth. I have also got mee a Sword to make frayes, and now want nothing to live like a Christian, but a Concubine, which I meane to bring home shortly. I once reproved an Indian, for dicing and blasphemie: Wee, saith he, learned these examples of your selves. And the Indians which are so lewd, are such usually as have been brought up by some Spaniards which studie nothing else. These for the most part, are the *Span. Miracles.* Miracles which the Spaniards have done amongst the Indians.

Indian Christianitie. Many other Indians being demanded whether they bee Christians, answere, they are, because the Bishop hath crossed and blessed them, they have built a Church, set up there our Ladies Image, and gotten a Bell. I asked one whether he were a Christian: What, said he, would you have me bee a Bishops servant ten or twelve yeeres, and keepe his Mule? Others asked thereof, say, that a Priest washed their heads foure or five times, &c. Hee reciteth the Letter of Didacus Lopez de Zunega, and other passages of Spaniards vices.

Lib. 3. c. 1. In the third Booke Benzo relateth the Acts of the Spaniards in Peru. Francis Pizarro, Diego Almagro, and Fernand Luques a Priest, enter into a league of *Triumvirate.* Triumvirate for the Southerne Discoveries, and therein to share equally, both the care, charge and gaine. They *First Voyage.* procure ships, and convenient provisions, and with two hundred and twentie Souldiers, Pizarro and Almagro, in the yeere 1526. one a little after the other, set sayle for Panama. Pizarro having sayled three hundred miles, goeth on land, and is repelled by the Indians, himselfe wounded, and many slaine. Hereupon he returneth to Panama. Almagro went up a River in

A.D. 1614.

another Region, and was kindly entertayned, and brought thence three thousand Duckets of Gold, with which in his returne he came neere to the place where Pizarro had [IV. vii. received his bad entertainment, and himselfe in fight 1451.] with them lost one of his eyes, and many of his Souldiers. Being comne to Panama with those showes of Gold, they redintegrate their designes, and with two hundred Souldiers, and many Indian slaves setting sayle, *Second Voyage.* landed in another place, where they also were beaten backe to their ships, and many slaine. Thence they went to the Ile Gorgon, a small and desart Iland sixe *I. Gorgon.* leagues from the Continent. The Golden hopes would not permit them to give over that which this strength could not enable them to winne, and therefore Almagro is sent to Panama to re-enforce and encrease their numbers. Hee returned with eightie five Spaniards, *Third expedition.* and found Pizarro, and the rest almost starved. Being refreshed they set sayle, and againe landing were repelled with the losse of some Souldiers, and went to a desart Iland, which they called Cock-Iland, for the shape of *Cock-Iland.* the Cape or Promontorie. Almagro againe returneth to Panama for more Souldiers to bee revenged on these Indians. Most of the Spaniards cursing their covetousnesse, would have returned with him, but were not permitted, no not to write to their friends; which yet some closely did complayning of the Countrie, the leaders and their designes. Pedro de los Rios was then newly Governour at Panama, and hearing hereof presently sent one to Cocke-Iland, to Pizarro that hee should not detayne any there against his will, whereupon they all save fourteene departed. These lived on fish till Almagro came, who also could bring no supply by reason of the ill rumour.

At last they agreed to sayle by the shoare, and search *Fourth expedition.* if any riches there presented themselves. They sayled five hundred miles, and came to Chira, a Province of Peru, and there going on shoare tooke some cattell, and Indians to learne the Spanish Tongue. Then returning

to Tumbez, when no Spaniard had so much courage,
Peter of Candy. Peter of Candie (a Greeke borne in Candie) adventured to goe on shoare, which he did, armed with a two-hand Sword. This spectacle of a bearded man was no little wonder to the Natives. The Governour used him kindly, leading him into the Fortresse, wherein was a Temple to the Sunne, full of stupendious riches. At the gate hee found certaine beasts like Lions, and two Tigres, but harmlesse. And when the Governour would have given him at his departure certaine pieces of Gold, hee seemed to contemne them utterly, so to dissemble the true cause of his comming. Then comming aboord he related what hee had seene: and they with joy returned to Panama.

Cap. 2. Hereupon Pizarro is sent to Spaine, by Almagro and Luquez, to obtaine of Cesar the conquest of that Province, for which purpose they borrowed 1500. Duckets. He notwithstanding makes the sute in his owne name and accordingly obtayning commission, returned with his brethren Fernandez, Gonzales, John, Pizarri, and Martin de Alcantara. Hence grew a quarrell, his partners esteeming him perfidious, till Gama compounded the matter twixt him and Almagro (Luques being excluded, and therefore afterwards surnamed, The Foole) that Almagro should employ his wealth, and therefore participate in the honours, swearing each to other, and taking the Sacrament thereupon. Thus
Fifth Voyage. Pizarro went from Panama with 150. Souldiers, and many Horses, leaving Almagro shortly to follow. Hee came
Puna now Saint Iago. to Colonchia, thence to the Iland Puna, where hee was well entertained till rapes and robberies made the Natives take Armes, which was to their greater losse, the Spaniards getting the victorie. Thence Pizarro went to the Continent of Tumbez, fiftie miles distant. Where the Natives refused his friendship, and sought to oppose him: but he by night entred the River, and being guided by unpassable wayes made a great slaughter of them, spoyled the Citie, and robbed the Sunnes Temple.

Atabaliba King of Peru, was then at Cassiamalca, who hearing that a strange bearded People had robbed his Subjects, sent to Pizarro, threatning him, if he continued thus or there. Pizarro answered, that hee was sent by his Emperour to succour those which desired his friendship, nor might he safely returne to him, except hee had first seene his Royall person, and declared to him things good both for his body and soule. Thus hee travels thorow Chira, and by the Lords in the way is sued to for friendship, which hated Atabaliba. Meeting with a navigable River, he layd the foundation of a Colonie there called Saint Michaels, and shared the spoyles amongst his followers. Atabaliba derided their paucitie, and sends to them, if they loved their lives to be gone. But he proceeded to Cassiamalca, and thence sent messengers to the King (then two miles off) to signifie his desire of acquaintance. Fernand Pizarro told him, that hee was brother to the Leader who was sent from the Pope and Cesar, to desire his friendship, and therefore desired audience, having some speciall matters to deliver to him, after which hee would bee gone. The King answered, hee would first have him depart his confines. The night following they prepared themselves for fight. The next day the King was in Pompe carried on mens shoulders, guarded with five and twentie thousand Indians. Friar Vincent de valle viridi a Dominican, carrying in the one hand a Crosse, in the other a Breviarie, went to him, and by an Interpreter, signified that hee came to his Excellency by the mandate of the Imperiall Majestie, and that with the authoritie of the Roman Bishop, Vicar of the heavenly Saviour, which hath given to Cesar the Lands before unknowne, and now first discovered, that hee might send thither learned and godly men, to preach his most holy Name publikely to those Nations, and to free them from Diabolicall errours. Having thus said, he gave to the King, the Law of God *, and sayth, that he had created all things of nothing, and beginning with Adam and

Cap. 3. *Atabaliba of Atabualpa.*

Saint Michaels.

Frier Vincents embassage, not in Gods name.

**So he calls his Breviary.*

Eve, tells how Christ had assumed flesh in the wombe of the Virgin, and died on the Crosse, after which he rose againe, and ascended into Heaven. Then averring the articles of the resurrection and of everlasting life, he sheweth that Christ appointed Peter his first Vicar for the goverment of the Church, and that this power succeeded to his successors the Popes, declaring lastly the power and wealth of Cæsar the King of Spaine, Monarch of the whole world. Therefore the King should doe as became him, if he accepted his friendship, and became his tributarie and vassall; and if lastly hee rejected his false gods and should become a Christian. Which if he would not doe voluntarily, let him know, that he should thereunto be compelled by force and armes.

The King answered, that not unwillingly hee would accept the friendship of the chiefe Monarch of the world, but for a free King to pay tribute to a man whom hee had never seene, seemed scarcely honest or just. As for the Pope, he must needs appeare to be a foole, and a shamelesse man, which was so bountifull in giving that which is none of his owne. Touching Religion, he denied that hee would alter that which hee professed; and if they beleeved in Christ, whom they confessed to have died on the Crosse, they also beleeved in the Sunne which never died. And how (sayth he to the Frier) doe you knowe that the Christians God created all things of nothing, and died on the Crosse? The Frier answered, that hee was taught it by his Booke, and withall reached it to him, which he looking on, said, it said nothing to him, and threw it to the ground. The Frier presently tooke up his Booke, and cried amaine to the Spaniards, Goe to Christians, goe to, and make them smart for so hainous a deed, the Gospels are derided and throwne away. Kill these Dogs which so stubbornly despise the Law of God.

Presently Pizarro gives the signe, and leades forth his men. The Gunnes amaze the Indians, as also the

Horses, Drummes and Trumpets. Easily are they hereby, and terrour of their Swords chased, and Atabaliba himselfe taken by Pizarro, which commanded the footmen: without hurt or slaughter of any Spaniard. Ferdinand his brother, Captaine of the Horse, made a great slaughter amongst the Indians, sparing neither age nor sexe, and filling the wayes with Carkasses. The Frier also all the time of the battell animated the Spaniards, admonishing them to use the thrust rather than the stroke with their Swords, for feare of breaking them.

Cap. 4. Atabalibas ransome.

The next day Pizarro visits his prisoner, and giveth him good words, who grieved with his chaines, covenanted for his ransome to give them as much Gold and Silver vessels (so that they should not breake them) as should fill up the roome as high as a man could reach. But when halfe so much was not brought in a moneths space, they perswaded Pizarro to kill him. The King excused himselfe by the length of the way, that it could not come in so soone. If they would send to Cusco, they might see themselves cause to credit him. Soto is sent thither with two Spaniards, which met Indians all the way laden with treasure. Almagro came to the sharing of this ransome.

Cap. 5. Pizarros perfidious cruelty.

Pizarro notwithstanding retayned his former purpose to kill him, that so hee might enjoy the Countrey. Atabaliba desired to bee sent to Cæsar, which hee refused. And none that consented to his death, came to a prosperous end. When Pizarro had told him of the Sentence, hee exclaimed bitterly, and then turning with his devotions to the Sunne, hee expostulated with Pizarro for breaking his oath, not onely to restore him to libertie upon his ransome, but to depart out of his Countrie: but hee commanded his Negros to execute him, which with a cord fastned to a sticke, and wrung about his necke was soone dispatched. Then marched hee to Cusco, and was encountrered by Quisquiz, Atabalibas Captaine, whom hee overthrew, and entred Cusco by force, and got there more prey then before by

Quisquiz.

Atabaliba. The Souldiers tortured the Inhabitants to confesse their treasures; yea some killed the Indians in sport, and gave them to their Dogges to eate. After this hee beganne the Citie of Kings, on the River of Lima, and made Almagro Governour of this new Province. Cæsar also gave him priviledge to bee Marshall of Peru, and to conquer three hundred miles further then Pizarros conquest, for himselfe. Hence arose suspicions and jealousies of Pizarro to Almagro, and after some quarrels Almagro is sent to Chili by Pizarro, so to ridde his hands honourably of him. New Oathes also passed. Hee passeth over the snowy Hills, where divers both Men and Horses were frozen to death. Pizarro receiveth soone after, the title of Marquesse, from Cæsar.

Cap. 6.

Chili.

Mango Inga his acts.

Mango Inga, brother of Atabaliba, whom Francis Pizarro in those broyles had crowned, was by Fernandez Pizarro taken and committed to chaines in Cusco: and upon great promises by his brother John freed: who seeing the Spaniards tooke a course of robbery rather then warre, rebelled, slue many Spaniards at their Mines, and sent a Captaine to Cusco, which tooke it, and slue John Pizarro, with some Spaniards. The Spaniards againe recovered it, and againe lost it*, Mango besieging it with an hundred thousand Indians, which burnt it, and slue the Spaniards. The Marquesse sent Diego Pizarro, with seventie Spaniards, against Mango; but not one of them was left to carrie tidings of their destruction. About the same time Morgovius had like successe with his Spanish Band, going to relieve Cusco. Gonçales Tapia was sent with eightie horse, but he and most of his were slaine neere Guamanga. Gaeta another Captaine with his fiftie Spaniards, ranne the same fortune. The Marquesse sends Godoies with fortie Horse, but he being assayled, and seeing his men slaine, fled, and brought newes to Lima. Then did the Marquesse send Peter Lerma with fiftie Horse, and followed himselfe, and slue many of the Indians in battell; two hundred

**The Citie: some say they held the Castle.*

Spanish disasters.

[IV. vii. 1453.]

Horses, and foure hundred Spaniards, had beene lost, neither could hee heare of his brethren any thing. He sent therefore to Cortese, to Truxillo, Nicaragua, Panama, to Alonso Alvarado, who first came to his succour with three hundred Spaniards, the most Horsemen. He overthrew Tizoia (Mangos chiefe Commander) with 50000. Indians, and againe in another battell.

Meane while Almagro (whom the Marquesse thought to bee dead) returneth out of Chili, which had not answered his expectations, the same whereof caused Mango, fearing to be hemmed in of all sides, to leave Cusco, (despairing to recover his estate) with twenty thousand Indians, setling himselfe on the Mountaines over Guamanga. When Gasca the President sent for him after, promising him peace, he refused, as warned by Atabalibas example. Almagro would have entred Cusco in his owne right, as Governour, which Ferdinand Pizarro refused till he had leave from the Marquesse. But he by night entred, and imprisoned both Gonzoles and Ferdinand Pizarro. The next day hee was proclaimed Governour, according to the Imperiall commission. He hearing of Alvarado, and fearing his comming, sent to him Messengers which Alvarado stayed, but was soone after taken by Almagro in his Tents. *Cap. 7.*

Then doth hee returne to Cusco pompous, swearing to cast out all the Pizzarists. Alvarado and Gonzales corrupting their keepers get out of prison, and acquaint the Marquesse with these things, who provided five hundred men to march against him, but the case was compromitted. Yet did the Marquesse set men to murther Almagro by the way as hee should come to the place appointed, which tooke no effect, hee being warned thereof. After this they are reconciled, Oaths going before and after, which soone after were broken, and brake out into open warres, in which Almagro was taken, sentenced to death, which no pleading, appeale, intercession could reverse, but he was first strangled in prison, and then beheaded by Ferdinand Pizarro, who had before *Almagro put to death.*

beene his prisoner. His Father is not knowne; hee left a Sonne by an Indian Concubine, bearing his owne name Diego.

Cap. 8. *Ferd. sent to Spaine, where he is thought to have died in prison. The Marquesse slaine.*

The Marquesse sent his Brother Ferdinand to Spaine, with the processe of Almagro, and the Kings fifts. In the meane time one Rada a friend of Almagro, with yong Diego his son conspire against the Marquesse, who contemning their meannesse, was by them slaine in his owne house with his halfe brother Martin de Alcantara. Diego Almagro invades the goverment, and makes all to sweare to him till Cæsar had otherwise provided. Hee goeth to Cusco, and there slayeth Garcia Alvarado, who had stabbed Sortello, and would have done as much for him.

Cap. 9. *Vacca de Castro cuts off Diego.*

Cæsar hearing of these broyles sent the Licentiate Vacca di Castro thither with commission, betwixt whom and Diego was fought a bloudy battell, three hundred slaine, on Cæsars side one hundred and fiftie. Diego fleeth to Cusco, but by Roderigo Salazar, on whom hee had bestowed many benefits, was betrayed to Vacca, who cut off his head.

Cap. 10. *Vice-roy Vela.*

About this time the Decree for the Indians libertie was promulged and Blascus Nunnez Vela made Vice-roy of Peru, who arriving at Nombre de Dios, A. 1544. there met with many Spaniards which had gotten much by the sale of Indian slaves; hee committed to the Officers, and would have confiscated their money, as against the late Law; which being done by him in a place out of his jurisdiction, it was upon intercession restored. Going to Panama hee causeth the Indians to be freed, at Tumbez he meets with a Priest and a servant of Gonzales Pizarro, which had beene in the battell against Almagro, and hanged them both. He executed a Frier also which had taxed the severitie of Cæsars Edict, and ill rewarding those which had served him. And whiles he would remit nothing of utmost rigour, he procured the hate of all, which after brake forth into a rebellion. He committed Vacca de Castro

Cap. 11.

into prison, whereupon the Spaniards chose Gonzales Pizarro their Leader, Governor, and Procurator generall of the Peruan Provinces. The Vice-roy also put the Kings Factor to death, whose brother the Licenciat Carvaial sware to be avenged of him. The Vice-roy after this was taken and imprisoned, but soone after sentenced to be sent back to Spaine by Alvarez, who at Tumbez freed him. His brother Vela Nunnez seeking to raise forces for him was taken and executed. Civill wars grew hot, a battel was fought betwixt Pizarro and the unfortunat Vice-roy there taken, whom Carvaial in revenge of his brothers death caused to be done to death. *Cap.* 12.

Gasca, a man of great subtilty, was sent to appease those affaires; who made the Indians to beare the carriages of his Armie on their shoulders, chained on a rowe, to prevent their flight; some fainting under the weight of their burthens, others with extreme thirst. Those which could not march with the Armie the Spaniards freed by cutting off their heads, to avoide the delay of the chaine: or if they were tied with ropes, they ranne them thorow with their weapons: of some they cut off the legs, of others the nose, or armes. *Cap.* 13. *Gascas acts in Peru.*

Gonzales Pizarro the chiefe of the Rebels, overcame Centenus in one battell, but in another was taken by Gasca, and executed; and after him his Camp-master Carvaial, a cruell man, which would deride his owne Countrimen, when he executed them; bidding them, because they were Gentlemen horsemen, chuse, which tree they would hang on. *Cap.* 14. *Cap.* 15.

Gasca ordained that the Indians should pay tribute to their Lords onely of such things as the Countrie yeelded. For before, the Spaniards forced them by tortures to bring them Gold: if any not having it fled those torturers into the Woods, the Spaniards hunted them out with Dogs, and many so found were torne with Dogs, others hanged themselves. *Cap.* 16. [IV. vii. 1454.]

Once; the men of Peru conceived so hard an opinion of the Spaniards, and of their cruelties, that they not onely denied them to be the sonnes of God, but thought that *Peru conceit of Spaniards. Cap.* 21.

they were not borne into the world like other men, supposing that so fierce and cruell a creature could not be procreated of man and woman. They called them therefore Viracochie, that is, Sea-froth, as if they thence had received originall. Nor can any alter this their opinion so deeply rooted, but God Almightie; saying, The windes overthrowe trees and houses, fire burnes them, but these Viracochie devoure all things, insatiably seeking Gold and Silver, which as soone as they have gotten, they play away at Dice, warre, kill one another, robbe, blaspheme, wickedly forsweare and denie God, never speake truth; and us they have spoyled of our Countrie and fortunes.

Lastly, they curse the Sea, which hath brought to the Land so fierce and dreadfull an issue. If I asked for a Christian, they would not answere, nor looke on mee. But every childe could say, There goeth a Viracochie. They hid their ancient treasures, that the Spaniards should not finde them; saying, that all which they got, in comparison of these hidden, was but as a graine of Maiz to a dishfull. Some they buried in the Earth, and some they threw into the Sea. &c.

Chap. XIII.

Observations of things most remarkable, collected out of the first part of the Commentaries Royall, written by the Inca Garcilasso de la Vega, Naturall of Cozco, in nine Bookes; Of the Originall, Lives, Conquests, Lawes and Idolatries of the Incas, or Ancient Kings of Peru.

THis Authour (of the bloud of the Incas, or as others call them, Ingas, Emperours of Peru, by the mothers side, his father a Spaniard) hath written three large Volumes of American affaires, one of Sotos expedition into Florida, in sixe Bookes; both the other of his owne Countrie of Peru, the one contayning in nine Bookes the Historie of things done by the Incas, before the Spanish Conquest, the later those later Spanish-Peruan occurrents. Of his Floridan Historie wee have onely borrowed a few notes, bringing on our Stage a Portugall, eye-witnesse of that Voyage, to act his owne part in our next Act or Booke: out of the other I purposed more liberalitie, *L. 8. c. 2.* that thou mightst heare a Peruan speake of Peru: but the Worke growing so great, and wee having out of Acosta, and so many others presented so much before, fearing to cloy the Reader with fulnesse (which may, if not here satisfied, goe to the Authour) have principally collected such things as either they had not, or had by false information received and deceived their Readers, whom this Authour correcteth out of better intelligence. Besides, hee seemes to hold counterpoise, as drawing things from their originall, with our Mexican Picture-antiquities.

Ex Præfatione.

Of the Cusco Tongue.

THe Language generall of Peru, hath three manner of pronunciations of some syllables much different from the Spanish, in which variety of pronunciation lieth

Three pronunciations.

the different significations of the same word. One way in the lips, another in the palate, and the third in the throat. The accent is almost alway in the last syllable but one, sildome in the syllable before that, and never in the last of all, as some ignorant of the Tongue have affirmed. That Language of Cuzco doth also want these letters following, b, d, f, g, i consonant, the single l (they use the double ll, as on the other side they pronounce not the double rr, in the beginning or midst of a word, but alway single) and x: so that of the Spanish Alphabet they want eight letters, accounting the single l, and double rr. Hence they hardly pronounce Spanish words in which these letters are. Neither is there any plurall number, but certaine particles which signifie pluralitie, otherwise the singular serves for both numbers.

Accent.

b. d. f. g. i. x. l. rr. wanting.

Monie.

In my time about 1560. and twentie yeeres after, in my Countrie there was no money coyned, but they reckoned by weight, the marke, or ounce; as in Spaine they reckon by Duckets, so in Peru by Pezos or Castellans, every Pezo of Silver being foure hundred and fiftie Maravedies, and reduced to Spanish Duckets, every five Pezos are sixe Duckets.

Pezos.

The first Book of the first part.

ANno 1484. Alonso Sanchez of Huelva, in the Countie of Niebla, traded in a small ship from Spaine to the Canaries, and thence to Madera. In this his triangular trade, hee was one day taken with a tempest, which carried him twentie and eight or nine dayes hee knew not whence nor whither, and then the tempest ending, hee arrived at an Ile (which some thinke to bee Hispaniola) where he went on land, and tooke the height. Hee wrote all occurrents, and after a tedious voyage arrived at Tercera, but five of seventeene being left, which all died there (spent with their ill passage) at Christopher Colon or Columbus his house, which gave him that heart and courage to the discovery of the New World.

[IV. vii. 1455.]

This Spanish report some of themselves conceale, others deny: see sup.

A.D. c. 1580.

Blasco Nunnez de Balboa, An. 1513. discovered the South Sea, & was thereof made Adelantado, and the conquest of those Regions granted him by the Catholike Kings. He made three or foure Ships for discovery, one of which passed the line to the South, sailing along the coast; and seeing an Indian Fisherman at the mouth of a River, foure of the Spaniards went ashore farre from the place where he was, being good runners and swimmers to take him.

ca. 1. §. 4. *To.* 1. *l.* 2. *I have here given this voyage (or fable) because the particulars are so full and plaine in this author: whereas Gomara saith neither in the man, nor time, nor place, &c. is agreed on: see Gom. p.* 2. *c.* 13.

The Indian marvailing what kinde of creature the Ship under saile might be, was taken in the mids of his muse and carried a shipboord. They asked him by signes and words (being somewhat refreshed after that dreadfull surprize and bearded sight) what Countrie that was, and how called. The Indian not understanding what they demanded, answered and told them his proper name, saying Beru, and added another word, saying Pelu: as if he should have said, if yee aske me what I am, my name is Beru, and if you aske me whence, I was in the River, Pelu being the common name of a River in that language. The Christians conceived that hee had understood them, and answered to the purpose; and from that time Anno 1515. or 1516. they called by the name of Peru that great and rich Empire, corrupting both names, as they use in Indian words. Some later authors call it Piru. After the discovery of the Incas Kingdome the name still continued, howsoever the Natives to this day (seventie two yeares since the conquest) will not take it in their mouthes, although they speake with Spaniards and understand them: neither have they one generall name for all those Provinces, as Spaine, Italy, France with us, but call each by its proper name; and the whole Kingdome they call Tavantinsuyu, that is to say, the fourth part of the World. That River also where they tooke the Indian, was after by the Spaniards called Peru. Yucatan received the name from like accident, the first discoverers asking the place, the Indian answering tectetan, tectetan, that is, I understand

Name of Peru whence and how.

The like you may before read of China, a name not ther knowne, &c.

Jucatan.

you not, which they understood of the proper appellation, and corruptly called the place Yucatan.

From Panama to the Citie of Kings, the sailing is very troublesome, by reason of Southerne windes which alway runne on that coast, as also of many currents: these forced the Shippes in that voyage to make large boords of fortie or fiftie leagues into the Sea, and then againe to landward; untill Francis Drake an Englishman (which entred by the Magellan strait, 1579.) taught them a better course of sailing two or three hundred leagues into the Sea, which the Pilots before durst not doe, being fearefull of calmes, if they were once one hundred leagues from land, otherwise also uncertaine and ignorant.

Sir F. Drake teacher of navigating the S. Sea to the Span.

C. 15. Touching the originall of the Incas Kings of Peru, this author affirmeth, that when hee was a childe, his mother residing in Cusco her Countrie, every weeke there came to visite her some of her kindred which had escaped the tyrannies of Atauhuallpa, at which time their ordinary discourse was alway of the originall of their Kings, of their Majestie and great Empire, Conquests, and Government: such discourses the Incas and Pallas hold in their visitations, bewailing their losses. Whiles I was a boy I rejoyced to heare them as children delight to heare tales, but being growne to sixteene or seventeene yeares of age, when they were one day at my Mothers in this discourse, I spake to the ancientest (my Mothers Uncle) desiring him to tell me what he knew of their first Kings, seeing they kept not memory of their antiquities, as the Spaniards use in writing, which by their Bookes can tell all their antiquities and changes which have happened since God made the World. I desired him to tell me what traditionary memorials he had of their Originals. He willing to satisfie my request, recounted to me in manner following, advising mee to lay up these sayings in my heart.

Atahualpa or Atabalipa his cruelties.

Indian fables of their Originals.

In old times all this region was untilled and overgrowne with bushes, and the people of those times lived

as wilde beasts, without religion or policie, without towne or house, without tilling or sowing the ground, without raiment, for they knew not how to worke Cotten or Wooll to make them garments. They lived by two and two, or three and three, in caves and holes of the ground, eating grasse like beasts, and rootes of trees, and wilde fruits, and mans flesh. They covered themselves with leaves, and barkes of trees, and skins of Beasts, and others in leather. Once, they lived as wilde beasts, and their women were in common and brutish. Our Father the Sunne (this was the Incas manner of speech, because they derived their pedegree from the Sunne; and for any besides the Incas to say so, was blasphemie, and incurred stoning) seeing men live in this fashion, tooke pittie on them, and sent from heaven a Sonne and a Daughter of his owne, to instruct men in the knowledge of our Father the Sunne, and to worship him for their God; to give them lawes also and precepts of humane and reasonable course of life in civill fashion, to dwell in houses and townes, to husband the earth, to sowe and set, to breede cattle. With these ordenances our father the Sunne placed these his two children in the lake Titicaca, eightie leagues from Cusco; and gave them a barre of Gold two fingers thicke, and halfe a yard long, for a signe that where that barre should melt with one blow on the ground, there they should place their residence and Court. Lastly, hee commanded that when they had reduced the people to serve him, they should uphold them in justice with clemencie and gentlenesse, behaving themselves as a pittifull Father dealeth with his tender and beloved children, like as he himselfe gave them example in giving light and heate to all the world, causing the seedes and grasse to grow, and the trees [IV. vii. to fructifie, the cattle to encrease, the seasons to be faire, 1456.] and encompassing the world once every day: that they should imitate him, and become benefactors to the Nations, being sent to the earth for that purpose. Hee constituted also and named them Kings and Lords

of all the Nations which they should instruct and civilize.

After these instructions he left them, and they went up from Titicaca travelling to the North, still as they went striking with that barre of Gold, which never melted. Thus they entred into a resting place seven or eight leagues Southwards from this Citie Cusco, now called Pacarec Tampu, that is, morning sleepe, and there slept till morning, which he afterwards caused to be peopled, and the inhabitants boast greatly of this name, which the Inca imposed. Thence they travelled to this valley of Cusco, which was then a wilde wildernesse, and staid first in the hillocke, called Huanacanti, in the midst of the Citie; and there making proofe, his Golden Barre easily melted at one stroake, and was no more seene. Then said our Inca to his Sister and Wife, In this Valley our Father the Sunne commands us to make our aboade; and therefore O Queene and Sister, it is meete that each of us goe and doe his endevour to assemble and draw hither the people to instruct and benefit them as our Father the Sunne hath enjoyned us. From the hillocke Huanacauri our first Kings went each to gather together the people. And because that is the first place on which they were knowne to have set their feete, and thence to have gone to doe good to men; wee builded there a Temple to worship our Father the Sunne, in memorie of this benefit to the world.

Temple to the Sunne.

The Prince went to the North, and the Princesse to the South: to all the men and women which they found in those wilde thickets, they spake, saying that their Father the Sunne had sent them from heaven to become instructers and benefactors to all that dwell in that land, to bring them from a brutish life to civilitie, with many other words to like purpose. Those Savages seeing these two persons attired and adorned with ornaments, which our Father the Sun had given them, and their eares bored and open, as their descendants have continued, and that in their words and countenance they

appeared like children of the Sun, and that they came to give them sustenance; they gave them credit, and reverenced them as children of the Sun, and obayed them as Kings, and calling other Savages and acquainting them herewith, many men and women came together and followed our Kings whether they would conduct them. Our Princes gave order that some should be occupied in providing victuall in the fields, least hunger should force them backe to the Mountaines; others in making cottages and houses, the Inca instructing them how they should doe it. In this manner this our Imperiall Citie began to be peopled, being divided into two halves, Hanan Cozco and Harin Cozco, that is, the high and the low Cozco, those which the King drew thither dwelling in the high, those which followed the Queene in the low. One halfe had not more priviledges then the other, but they were all equall; but those names remained as a memoriall of those which each had attracted: onely those of high Cozco were as the elder, and the other reduced by the Queen as the second sons of the same parents; or as the right hand and left. In like sort the same division was held in all the great townes and small of the Empire, by the high linages and the low, the high and low streetes or wards.

Cusco or Cozco first inhabited.

Moreover, the Inca taught the men to doe the offices pertaining to their sexe, as to till the Land, to sowe seedes (shewing them which were profitable) teaching them to make instruments for that purpose, to make trenches for the water, &c. The Queene on the other side taught the women to worke in Cotten and Wooll, and to make garments for their husbands and children, with other houshold offices. These Indians thus civillized, went thorow the hils and wilde places to search out others, and acquainted them with these affaires, telling them what the children of the Sun had done for them, shewing for proofe thereof their new garments, and meates, and so brought much people hither, that in sixe or seven yeares the Inca had trained many to

Use of Arts.

Use of Armes. armes for their defence, and to force those which refused to come to him. He taught them Bowes and Arrowes, and Clubs, &c. And to be short, I say that our first Father Inca reduced all the East to the River Paucartampu, and Westward conquered eight leagues to the great River Apurimac, and nine leagues Southward to Quequesana. In this Region our Inca caused to people above a hundred Townes, the greater of them of one hundred houses.

These were our first Incas, which came in the first ages of the World, of whom all the rest of us have descended. How many yeares have passed since our Father the Sunne sent these his first children, I cannot precisely say; we hold that it is above 400. yeares. Our Inca was called Manco Capac, and our Coya, Mama Ocllo Huaco, brother and sister, children of the same Sunne, and the Moone, our progenitors. I thinke I have given thee large account of that which thou desiredst, and because I would not make thee cry, I have not recited this storie with teares of bloud shed by the eyes, as I shed them in my grieved heart, to see our Incas come to an end, and our Empire lost.

The Incas Empire dured about 400. years. Valera hath 5. or 600.

This relation I have faithfully translated from my mother tongue, which is that of the Inca, to the Spanish, which is farre short of the Majestie of the stile, nor so significantly as that language affordeth, and have abbreviated some things which might make odious the discourse. It is enough that I have delivered the truth of their conceit, as befits an Historian. Other like things the said Inca told me in those visitings and discourses at my mothers house, which I shall recite in their due places.

The Floud. The common people of Peru recite other fables of their Originals, the Collasuyu which dwell to the South from Cozco, and the Cuntisuyu, which dwell to the West; fabling that after the floud, the waters ceasing, there appeared a man in Tiahuacanu Southwards from Cusco, so mightie that he divided the World into foure

[IV. vii. 1457.]

parts, and gave them to foure men which hee called Kings, to Manco Capac, the North; the South to Colla; to Tocay, and Pinahua the East and West, and sent each of them to their governments, &c. Those of the East and North have another tale, that foure men and foure women in the beginning of the world came out of a rocke by Paucartampu, all brethren and sisters, the first of which was Manco Capac and his wife Mama Ocllo which founded Cosco (which signifieth a navell) and subjected those Nations; the second Ayar Cachi or salt; the third Ayai Vchu (a kinde of Pepper) the fourth Ayar Sanca, that is, mirth and content. These fables they allegorise also, and some Spaniards would here finde the eight persons which came forth of Noahs Arke; wherewith I meddle not, nor with the other fables which other Indian Nations have of their progenitors; there being no honourable stocke which is not derived from some Fountaine, or Lake, or Lyon, Tigre, Beare, Eagle, Cuntur or other Birds of pray, or Hils, Caves, &c. But I by the said Incas relation, and of many other Incas and Indians of those townes which the said Inca Manco Capac peopled, in the space of twenty yeares which I there lived, received notice of all that I writ: for as much as in my childehood they related their stories to me, as they use to tell tales to children; and after being grown in age they gave me large notice of their Lawes and government, comparing this Spanish with the old, telling me how their Kings proceeded in peace and warre, and how they handled their subjects: and as to their owne Sonne they recounted to me all their Idolatrie, Rites, Ceremonies, Sacrifices, Feasts, and Superstitions, much whereof I have seene with mine eyes, it being not wholly left when I was twelve or thirteene yeares old, who was borne eight yeares after the Spaniards had gotten my Countrie. I also purposing to write a storie of these things, did write to my Schoolefellowes for their helpe to give me particular information of the severall Provinces of their Mothers, each Countrie keeping their annals and

See sup. p. 1060.

Fables and allegorisers.

Conceits of the originals of all chiefe families.

traditions; which reporting my intent to their Mothers and kindred, that an Indian, a childe of their owne land, ment to write a Historie thereof, searched their antiquities, and sent them to me; whereby I had notice of the conquests and acts of every Inca.

C. 20. Manco Capac to the East of Cosco, peopled thirteene townes of the nation called Poques, to the West thirtie, with the Nations Masca, Chilqui, Papuri; twentie to the North of foure peoples, Mayu, Cancu, Chinchapucyu, Rimac tampu: 38. or 40. to the South, 18. of which were of the Nation Ayarmaca, the others of the Quespicancha, Mugna, Urcos, Quehuar, Huaruc, Cavinna. This Nation *μετεμψύχωσις.* Cavinna, beleeved that their first Parents came out of a certaine Lake, to which they say the soules of the dead have recourse, and thence return into the bodies which are borne. They had an Idoll of dreadfull shape, which Manco Capac caused them to leave, and to worship the Sun, as did his other vassals. These townes from 100. housholds the greater, and 30. or 25. the lesse, grew to 1000. families, and the lesse to 3. or 400. The tirant Atauhuallpa for their priviledges which the first Inca and his descendents had given them, destroyed them, some in part, others wholly. Now a Viceroy hath removed them out of their ancient scituation, joyning five or sixe townes together in one place, and seven or eight in another, a thing so odious and inconvenient that I cease to mention it.

Spanish alterations.

Mancos lawes. Manco Capac to reduce the abuses of their women, ordained that adultery should be punished with death, as likewise murther and robberie: hee enjoyned them to keepe but one wife, and to marrie in their kindred or tribe that they should not be confounded, and that they should marrie from twenty yeares upwards. He caused them to gather together tame and harmelesse cattle in flockes and heards to cloath them; the Queene teaching these women to spin and weave. Hee taught them to make the shooe which they call Usuta. He set a Curaca (or Cacique) over each severall Nation, chusing them to

that dignitie which had taken most paines in reducing the Savages, the mildest and best minded to the common good, to instruct the rest as fathers. He ordained that the fruits which were gathered in each towne should be kept together, to give to each man as he had neede, till lands were disposed to each in proprietie. Hee taught them how to build a Temple to the Sunne, where to sacrifice and doe him worship as the principall God, and to adore him as the Sun and Moone, which had sent them to reduce them to civilitie. He caused them to make a house of women for the Sunne, when there should be women sufficient of the bloud royall to inhabit it; and propounded all things to them in the name of the Sun, as injoyned by him; which the Indians simply beleeved, adoring them for his children, and men divine come from heaven. *Suns Nunnery.*

Manco and his successours wore their haire poled, using to that purpose Rasors of flint, a thing so troublesome, that one of our Schoolefellowes seeing the readinesse of Scissers said, that if your Fathers the Spaniards had onely brought us Scissers, Looking-glasses, and Combes, wee would have given them all the Gold and Silver in our Land. They weare their eares with wide holes caused by art to grow into a strange and incredible widenesse, whereupon the Spaniards called them Oreiones, or men with great eares. Hee ware on his head as a Diadem or royall ensigne a kinde of Ribben of many colours, which compassed his head foure or five times a finger breadth, and almost a finger thicke. These three were Mancos devices, the llautu or ribband, the wide hole in the eare, and polling, as a kinde of Royaltie: and the first Priviledge which the Inca gave to his Vassals was to weare the fillet or ribband like the Inca, but theirs of one colour only, his of many. After some time, hee vouchsafed (as a great favour) the polling diversified in Provinciall differences of the Eare-fashions (which was a later and greater favour) both for the boaring and Earing, or Jewell there worne. *Poled heads.* *Wide bored eares.* *Fillets.* [IV. vii. 1458.] *Ensignes of dignitie.*

A.D. c. 1580.

Cusco and the Neighbours Incas by priviledge, which none elsewere except of the Royall bloud.

The Inca growing old, assembled his principall Vassals in Cusco, and in a solemne speech told them, that he intended to returne to Heaven, and to rest with his Father the Sunne which called him, (which was practised by all his successors, when they perceived themselves neere death) and now at his departure he minded to leave them his chiefe favour, to wit, his Royall Title, commanding that they and their Descendants should be Incas without difference, as having beene his first subjects which he loved as children; and hee hoped that they would likewise serve his Successor, and augment the Empire: that their wives also should be called Pallas, as those of the Royall bloud. Only he reserved the Royall Head-tire to himselfe and his Descendents the Kings which was a fringe or lace coloured, extending from one side of the fore-head to the other. His sir-name Capac signifieth rich (which they understood of the mindes vertues) and mightie in armes. The name Inca signifieth Lord, or generally those of the Royall bloud. For the Curacas, though great Lords, might not use that Title. The King is distinguished from all others by the appellation Capa, Capa Inca signifying the only Lord, as the Grand Signior among the Turkes. They stiled him also Huacchacuyak, that is, Benefactor to the poore. They called them also Intip charin, the Sonnes of the Sunne. Manco Capac reigned, some say thirtie yeeres, others fortie. Hee had many children by his Wife Mama Oello Huaco, and by his Concubines (saying, it was good to multiply children to the Sunne.) He called his Vassals also of the better sort, and recommended his Heire as by Testument in way of discourse to them, and to the rest of his children their love and service of the Vassals, and to the Vassals their loyaltie to their King, and obedience to the Lawes. Then dismissing the Vassals, hee made another speech in secret to his children, that they should alway remember that they were children of the Sun, to worship him as their God, and to maintaine his Lawes giving others examples therein; also to be

Royall Diademe.

Capa and Huacchacuyak peculiar titles to the King.

gentle to the Indians, to uphold them in Justice without oppression : that they should recommend these things to their posterities in all generations, saying, that they were the people of the Sunne, which he left unto them as his Testament; to whom he was now going to rest with him in peace, and from Heaven would have a care to succour them.

Manco dieth. Sinchi Roca succeedeth.

Thus died Manco Capac, and left his Heire Sinchi Roca the eldest brother, and begotten of Coya Mama Ocllo Huaco his wife and sister. Besides the Heire, those Kings left other sonnes and daughters which married amongst themselves to keepe the Royall bloud entire, which they fabulously beleeved to be divine, and of others humane, although they were great Lords of Vassals, called Curacas. The Inca Sinchi Roca married with his eldest sister, after the manner of his parents, and of the Sunne and Moone, thinking the Moone to be sister and wife to the Sunne. The Inca Manco was lamented by his Vassals very heavily, the Obsequies continuing many moneths. They embalmed his corps to preserve it amongst them, and worshipped him for a God, Sonne of the Sunne, offering many Sacrifices of Rammes, Lambes, Birds, Graines, &c. confessing him Lord of all those things which he had left.

Curacas.

Mancos Funerall.

Titles of honour.

The name Inca descended to all the posteritie by the Male Line, not by the Female; all of this ranke were also called Yntip churin (children of the Sunne) and Auqui, or Infanta, which Title they kept till their Marriage, and then were called Inca. The lawfull Queene was called Coya; also Mamanchic, that is, Our Mother. Her daughters were likewise called Coya; the Concubines and other wives of the bloud Royall, were called Palla, which signifieth a woman of Royall bloud. Concubines which were not of Royall bloud, were called Mamacuna, Mother. All the Royall Daughters were called Nusta, and if not of Royall Mothers, the name of the Province was added as Colla Nusta, Quitu Nusta. The name Nusta continued till they were married, and then they were stiled Palla.

A.D. c. 1580.

The second Booke. Amautas, the learned Peruans.

THe first Incas and their Amautas (which were their Philosophers) by light of Nature acknowledged God the Creator of all things, which they called Pachacámac (the Sunne they held to be a visible God) Pacha signifieth the World, and Camac to quicken, of Cama, the Soule, as if Pachacamac, were the soule or quickner of the Universe. This name they had in such veneration that they durst not mention it; and if they were by occasion forced thereto, they did it with holding downe the head, and bowing the bodie, lifting up their eyes to Heaven, and casting them downe to the ground, lifting up their hands open straite from the shoulders, giving smacks or lip-motions to the ayre (Rites performed only to him and the Sunne) holding Pachacamac in more internall reverence then the Sunne, whom they named commonly on any occasion. They said that he gave life to the World, but they knew him not, for they had never seene him, and therefore neither built Temples, nor offered Sacrifice to him; but said they worshipped him in their minds, and held him for the unknowne God. The Spaniards which tooke him for a Devill, and knew not the generall Language, found out another name for God, Tici Vira-cocha, which neither I, nor they know what it meaneth: and if any should aske mee how I in my Language would call God, I would answre, Pachacamac: nor is there in that generall Language any other name for him. And all those which Authors report are corrupted of other Languages, or devised by them.

Pachacamac, the name of God. Ignoto Deo. August in Zarat, l. 2. saith that Atahualpa answered Vincent de valle viridi, that they held the Sun for God, the earth for Mother, & Pachacamac for Creator of all.

[IV. vii. 1459.]

Acosta cals him Vira-rocha and saith they had no proper name for God.

A Crosse in Cozco before the Spaniards came.

The Incas in Cozco kept a Crosse of Marble, White and Carnation, which they call Jaspe Cristaline. They know not how long they had it. Anno 1560. I left it in the Vestry of the Cathedrall Church of that Citie. The Crosse was square, three quarters of a yard long, and three fingers thicke, and so much in breadth, all of one piece well wrought. They kept it in one of their Houses Royall, in a roome which they call Huaca, a holy place. They did not adore it, but held it in

venerable esteeme, either for the goodlinesse, or for some other respect which they knew not. The Incas and all Nations subject to them, knew not what it was to sweare: you have heard of their respect to the name Pachacamec. The Witnesses were solemnely demanded in waightie cases by the Judge, Doest thou promise to tell truth to the Inca? which he promising, the Judge gave him a caveat for lying or concealing. They exceedingly feared to lye, and if they were found to doe it, were grievously punished, and in cases of great importance, with death, as having lied to the Inca: for so they spake to the Judge as if it were to the Inca whom they worshipped for God. Besides Pachacamac, the Sunne, and Moone (as his wife and sister) and starres, they were forbidden by Law to adore any thing. Pachacamac the supreme God had no Temples ordinarily, yet in a Valley called Pachacamac was a Temple dedicated to that unknowne God. The Spaniards attribute many other Gods to the Incas, through ignorance of their Rites in the first and second age, and of their language; and not knowing the divers significations of the word Huaca, which in the last syllable pronounced high in the roofe of the mouth signifieth an Idoll. It signified also things sacred in which the Devill gave answeres, also things consecrated as offerings to the Sunne; Temples likewise and Chappels and Sepulchres whence the Devill spake: they gave that name also to all things eminent and superexcellent in their kind, as the fairest Trees, &c. On the contrary they called the filthiest and most monstrous things Huaca, which might cause horrour, as the great Snakes of five and twentie or thirtie foot long. Huaca was applied to all things also which go out of the common course, as to a woman which had Twinnes, making great Feasts, and strowing flowres in the street with Dances and Songs for such her fruitfulnesse. The same name they gave to sheepe which had Twinnes (for usually there they had but one) and in their Sacrifices rather offered a Twinne Lambe,

No swearing.

Acosta by this will bee better understood & corrected.

Huaca and the divers significations thereof, unknowne to the Spaniards occasioned errors in their stories.

Twins rare.

if they had it, then another: likewise to an Egge with two yolkes, to those which had in their birth any member more or lesse then usuall, as if one had six toes on his foot, a shorne lip, &c. also to Fountaines which yeelded extraordinary source of waters, to the ranke of the snowie Hils which runne thorow all Peru to the Magelane Straits, to all extraordinary Mountaines. Neither did they (as the Spaniards say) hold these for Gods, nor worship them, but for their eminence held them in * venerable respect. The same word Huaca pronounced with the last syllable in the inner part of the throat, signifieth to weepe; a thing usuall in that Language, for the same word in differing pronuntiation, to signifie things different.

**He seemeth also to make a difference twixt the adoration to the Sunne, & worship or reverence of the Inca. Acosta taxed. See before in Acosta. pag. 1041. &c.*

As for the Idoll Tangatanga, which one Authour saith they worshipped in Chuquisaca, and that the Indians said it was three in one, and one in three: I know no such Idoll, nor is there any such word in the generall Language of Peru: but the Province is one hundred and eightie leagues from Cozco, and the Spaniards corrupt all the words they take in their mouthes. It is likely that the Indians to flatter with the Spaniards, when they heard them preach of the Trinitie pretended some such likenesse of beliefe. The like I hold concerning their confessions, all which was invented by the Indians to currie favour with the Spaniards. I speake this as an Indian which know the naturall condition of the Indians: and I say that they had no Idoll with the name of the Trinitie, nor had any such word in their Language.

Their beliefe of the soule.

They beleeved the immortalitie of the soule, that the bodie was of earth, and called it Allpacamasca, that is quickened earth. They beleeved another life after this, with punishment for the bad and rest for the good.

Three Worlds.

They divided the Universe into three Worlds, Heaven called Hanan pacha, or the high World, whither they said the good men went to bee rewarded for their vertues: this World they called Hurin pacha, the World

below: the third vou pacha, the centre of the Earth, called, also Cupaypa huacin, that is, the house of the Devill. The life in Heaven they said was quiet, free from troubles, as that of the inferior World, which we call Hell full of paine and trouble without any rest or content, whereas this present life participated of both. Amongst the joyes of the other life they did not reckon carnall delights nor other vices, but quietnesse of the minde only with rest of the bodie. They beleeved the Resurrection universall, not glory nor paine, but *Resurrection.* to this same temporall life. They made great reckoning of their haire which they polled or combed from their heads, to lay it up in some place, or in a hole of the wall, and if another Indian had seene it falne thence, he would take and lay it up safe. I have often asked the cause, and they would tell mee that wee were to *Haire-superstition.* returne againe to live in the World (they have no word for the Resurrection) and that the soules should [IV. vii. raise all that belonged to their bodies forth of the 1460.] graves; we therefore lay our haire together that our soules should not bee troubled to seeke the same at that day when there shall be so great hurliburly and pressure, and if it were possible wee would have it all in one place for quicker dispatch.

The Sacrifices to the Sunne were divers: as creatures *Sacrifices.* tame, great and small; Lambes were the principall, next Rammes, and then barren Ewes; Conies, all Birds which were for meate, and Sewet, or Tallow; Corne and Pulse to the Herbe Cuca, and fine garments (which they burned instead of Incense; their drinkes also, as that made of water and Maiz; and in their ordinarie *Peru diet.* meales when they have eaten and are about to drinke (for they never drinke whiles they are eating) they put their finger in the midst of the first vessell, and looking up to Heaven with reverence, they turne up as it were, with a fillip, a drop of that drinke, offering it with **Davan dos o tres besos al ayre.* thankfulnes to the Sunne, for that hee hath given them to drinke, * and kissing wise mooved their lips twice

or thrice to the aire, which with them is a signe of adoration; and then drinke off the rest without more Ceremonies. This I have seene them often doe. Yet did not the Indians of the second age (which began and ended with the Incas government) offer the bloud or flesh of men, but prohibited the eating thereof, wherein Historians have bin deceived, it beeing true indeed of some Regions before the conquest of them by the Incas. Neither did they sacrifice either men or children when their Kings were sicke, as one Historian writeth; for they held them not for diseases, as those of the common people; but esteemed them as Messengers of their Father the Sunne, which came to call his Sonne to rest with him in Heaven; and those were their ordinary speeches, when they were to die.

Peruans no Man-eaters. Or Officers.

Acosta and others taxed.

Incas conceit of sicknesse.

Eybrow-rite.

When they entred into their Temples, the principall of those which went in, put up his hand to his eyebrowes, as if he would pluck off some of the haires, and whether he plucked off any or no, he puffed to the Idoll in signe of adoration and offering; this they did not to their Kings but only to their Idols, or Trees, or places where the Devill gave answeres. Their Priests and Witches did the like, when they went into their corners or secret places to conferre with the Devill. This Idolatry I have also seene them performe.

Priests of Peru.

Cozco Metropolitan: others had as it were Bishops and Priests.

The Priests of the house of the Sunne in Cozco, were all Incas of the Royall bloud: for other service of the Temple were Incas of those which were such by priviledge. They had a High or Chiefe Priest, which was Uncle or Brother to the King: or at least legitimate of the bloud. The Priests had no peculiar Vestment. In other Provinces where were Temples (which were many) the Natives were Priests, the Kinsmen of the Lords of those Countries; notwithstanding the principall Priest (or Bishop as it were) was to bee an Inca, that so they might hold conformitie of Rites with the Metropolitan: for in all preeminent Offices of Peace or Warre, they had Incas their Superiours. They

had many houses of Virgins which observed perpetuall Virginitie without going out of their house; and others of the Concubines for the King.

All their Lawes Civill and Sacred were attributed to Manco Capac, saying, that hee had left and perfected some himselfe, the others for his Successors to accomplish in their times: so to give authoritie to all as from the Sunnes Ordnance. And though some of the Incas were great Law-makers, yet no memory is left of any particulars under their name, but all is attributed to the first Inca. *All Ordinances attributed to Manco.*

The Incas devided their Empire into foure parts: they called it Tavantinsuya, that is, the foure parts of the World. Hereof Cozco was the Centre, which in that Inca-language signifieth the Navill of the Earth, or Land. The East-division they called Antisuyu of the Province Anti (a name also given to the Rew of Snowie Mountaines in the East) the West Cuntisuyu, the North Chinchasuyu; the South Collasuyu; each name derived of some Province therein so called, and continued to the furthest extent that way, as Collasuyu to Chili, sixe hundred leagues from Colla, and Chinchasuyu to Quitu foure hundred leagues from Chincha to the North. *Division of the Empire.* *Anti, called by Acosta, Andes.*

They ordained that in every Towne great or small of their Empire, the Inhabitants should be registred by Tithings, and one of them should take charge of the other nine, as a Decurion or Tithingman, called Chunca Chancapa. Five of these Decurions had another Superiour, which had the charge of fiftie. Over two of those was another Superiour or Centurion. Five Centuries were subjected to one which had charge of five hundred, and two of those charges had a Chiliarch or Captaine of one thousand: higher they went not. *Tithings and Tithingmen. See the like with us in Lamb. peramb. of Kent. Orders of Officers. Chunca Camayu.*

The Tithingman gave account to the Governour of those in his charge, to provide them Seed or Bread-corne, or Wooll, or House-reparations, or other necessaries. He also was to informe of their faults to the Judges, which according to the greatnesse of the offence

were also diversified in order for dispatch of Justice, and to take away need of Appeales, except in cases betwixt one Province and another, for which the Inca sent a speciall Judge. If the Decurion neglected to informe, the fault was now made his owne, and hee corrected for it: as also in the other case of provision. Hence there were no Vagabonds nor idle persons. The Father was corrected which did not educate or correct his children; the children also were punished in correspondence of their age: and the Tithingman was to informe of both. The Judges punished them, they said, not for the fact, but the fault in transgressing the Incas commandement which they respected as Gods.

[IV. vii. 1461.] *Penalties. No fines.*

They had no purse-punishments, Fines or Confiscations; for to leave them poore, was but to give them more libertie to evill. If any Curaca rebelled and deserved death, his sonne succeeded notwithstanding to his State. In warre they had Natives for Captaines over their owne Countrimen, having Incas for their Superiours. The Judge durst not arbitrate, but execute the Law, or else hee died for breaking the Royall commandement. This severitie of the Officers and of the Lawes which for light offences inflicted death, prooved rather gentle then cruell and barbarous, few daring to transgresse: so that all that Empire, extended thirteene hundred leagues, and consisting of so many Nations and Languages, was governed by one Law, as if it had beene one house, the rather because they held the same divine, and from the Sunnes ordinance by the Incas.

Nothing more mercifull then severitie unpartiall, which makes all to feare; so Guns have prooved savers of mens lives, the generall feare of Ordnance causing few battels, and consequently fewer slaine in warres then when & where they have not beene.

And the Law-breaker was therefore accounted sacrilegious and accursed, insomuch that some accused by their owne consciences have made confessions without other accusers, fearing to bring publike plagues on the State, as Diseases or Dearths, which they sought to prevent by appeasing God with their deaths. And I conceive, that from these publike confessions, the Spanish Historians have written that the Indians of Peru had confession in secret like Christians, and Confessours

appropriated: which is false, for in Peru they had no other then I have mentioned: and the Indians which told the Spaniards thus, answered so to their questions, as they thought might best please them. Neither had they any Appeales Civill or Criminall. Every Towne had a Judge, and for higher matters they went to the Superiour Judge in the Mother Citie. The Sentences of ordinary Judges, were every moneth related to the Superiour Judges; and theirs to others their Superiours, which were in the Court in divers degrees according to the qualitie of Cases. The Supreame were the Presidents or Vice-royes of the foure parts of the World. This report was made to examine Sentences which had passed, and if they were found unjust, the Authors were severely punished. The manner of rendring these reports to the Inca, and to those of his Counsell, was by knots in lines of divers colours, which served them as it were Ciphers: for the knots of such or, such colours declared the offences, and certaine threads of divers colours fastned to the lines, shewed the punishment. This was their Arithmetike in which they were expert and certaine, some applying themselves to nothing else. If any Provinciall controversie could not be decided by those whom the King sent, it was suspended till his Visitation of those parts, and then hee himselfe would see, heare and sentence.

No auricular confession in Peru, as Acosta, &c.

Judgements examined.

Quippos.

The Tithingmen also gave account every moneth of all which were borne or died, and likewise at the end of the yeere; such as perished in the warres, they also related. The like Officers and Orders were in the Campes of warre, as in the Townes of peace. They permitted not to sacke the Townes which they conquered by force. For every of those foure divisions of the Empire the Inca had Councels of Warre, of Justice, of necessary businesse. These had subordinate Officers in divers degrees which rendred accounts of all to the Supreme Councell. Each had a President or Vice-roy which received those accounts, and rendred the same to

Monethly and yeerely accounts.

But foure privy Counsellors.

the King. These were Incas legitimate, of great experience in Warre and Peace. And these foure only were Counsellors of State.

Roca Inca his acts.

Roca succeeded his Father Manco; he was called Sinchi, that is, valiant, excelling in manly feates of Activity, Running, Leaping, casting stones or Darts, Wrestling, any of his time. His Fathers Obsequies beeing finished, hee sought to augment his Empire, assembled his Curacas to that end, and put them in minde of that which his Father had said to them, when he would returne to Heaven, commanding the conversion of the Indians, to the knowledge and worship of the Sunne; whereunto he was now obliged by his place, and for the profit of the bordering Nations which had need thereof. They promised all readinesse, and he made his expedition to Collasuyu and perswaded with faire words, the Nations Puchina and Chanchi, being simple and credulous of every noveltie (as are all the Indians) and so proceeded without violence twentie leagues that way to the people Chuncara, in all things following his Fathers example. Hee also brought in other Nations on each hand; some affirme a great many. He is thought to have reigned thirtie yeeres: and then professing that he went to rest with his Father the Sunne, hee left Lloque Yupanqui his sonne to succeed him, and a numerous Issue besides. His name Lloque signifieth left handed (for so he was) Yupanqui was added for his vertues, and signifieth, thou shalt account or reckon, to wit, his great exploits and good parts. If any thinke the word may imply as well the recounting of vices, let him know that in that Language it is not so, the same Verbe not beeing flexible to evill transition which is used to good, nor to good which may be applyed to evill; but their elegance enforceth a change of the Verbe in change of the object. The name Yupanqui, as that of Capac were for their merits given to three other Incas. He reduced under subjection proceeding by the Collasuyu, the people Cama by

Indian credulitie.

Lloque Yupanqui the third Inca.

Strange Grammer.

perswasions. The Ayavari refused and fought with him, and after fortified themselves and indured many skirmishes, but by siege and famine were subdued.

After that he went to Pucara, which was a Fortresse builded by him: and sent to the Pancarcolla and Hatuncolla, which listned to his proposition, being a great Nation, or rather a multitude of Nations, which had many fables of their originall, some from a Fountaine, others from a Cave, others from a River. They worshipped a white Ramme as their principall God, being Lords of much cattell. They said that the first Ram in the world above, made more reckoning of them then other Indians, and had multiplied their Cattell. They offered to that Ram Lambs and tallow in Sacrifice. All of them agreed in this Ram deitie, in other their gods differing, but now exchanged all for the Sunne. Afterwards Titicaca, and Chucuytu, and Hurin Pacassa were subdued by him. Now to intermixe somewhat of the Sciences which the Incas had. [IV. vii. 1462.] *See Acosta.*

Of the Peruan Arts.

Their Astrologie and naturall Philosophie was little, by reason their Amautas or Phylosophers wanted letters. They better understood morrall learning, and left it written in the practise of their lawes. They observed the solstices and equinoctials by certaine towers. The Moone and Moneth they called Quilla, the yeare huata. The eclipses of the Moone they attributed to her sicknesse, fearing that she would dye and fall from heaven, and kill all below, and therefore they sounded Trumpets, Cornets, Drums, and such Instruments as they had, beating, and making their Dogs also to houle, thinking her affectioned to Dogges, for a certaine service which they fable done by them, and therefore imagine she would respect them, and awake out of her sleepe caused by sicknesse. The ecclipse of the Sunne they say happeneth for some offence done against him, for which he is angrie. The spots in the Moone they fable to have come of a Foxe, which being in love with the Moones beautie, went to heaven, and touching

Astrologie.

Dreames of Ecclipses.

her with his forefeete left those foule memorials. They make their children to cry Mama Quilla, Mother Moone doe not dye lest all perish. The men and women cry likewise in her ecclipse with horrible noise: when she recovers her light, they say Pachacamac hath cured her and commanded her not to dye, that the world should not perish; and give her great thankes. All this I have seene with mine eyes. The lightning and thunder they adore not for gods, but honour and esteeme them as the Sunnes servants resident in the ayre, not in heaven. Like account they make of the Rainebow, which the Kings Incas placed in their armes and scutchion. In the house of the Sunne was a roome for each of them. They made no Prognostications nor Predictions by signes of the Sunne, Moone, Comets, but by their dreames often and strange, and by their sacrifices. The Sun every evening set in the Sea, and with his heate dried up much of the water, and swam under the earth thorow it to the East. For Phisicke they used purging and bleeding, but had no skill of Urines or Pulse: some rootes and hearbes they made medicinable use of, especially of Tobacco.

Thunder and lightning.

Rainbow.

Dream-divinations.

Medicine.

Geometry.

In Geometrie they had some skill for partitions of their grounds, but nothing for speculation; and so much Geographie, as with plats or pictures to expresse the Nations. I have seene one of Cusco, and the confines admirably artificiall. Arithmeticke they practised with knots, as is said, and with graines of Maiz, and small stones, making perfect accompts. Musicke they had in some rules of art; with divers Instruments, as Pipes proportioned to a consort, and flutes and songs. The Amautas also had some practise of Poetrie, and composed Comedies and Tragedies. The Actors were not base persons, but Incas and the Nobilitie, sonnes of the Curaras. The argument was the acts of their ancestors. These were represented before the King and Lords at Court. They had no base or dishonest parts intermixed. They made Verses short and long with

Chorography.

Arithmeticke.

Musicke.

Poetry.

measuring the syllables without rimes, I have given an instance: the argument is (like that of Jupiter and Juno in our Poets) the daughter of a King had a pitcher full of water to moisten the earth, which her brother brake, and with the blow caused thunders and lightnings. They were found in knots and particoloured threads, being very ancient. The words are thus in Peruan and English, the syllables also in like number and meeter.

A Peruan hym in spondaike verses.

Cumac Nusta	Fairest of Nimphes,
Totallay quim	Thine owne Brother,
Puynnuy quita	This thy Pitcher
Paquir Cayan	Now is breaking;
Hina Mantara	Whose hard striking
Cunun numum	Thunders, lightens,
Ylla pantac	And throwes fire-bolts.
Camri Nusta	But thou sweet Nimph,
Unuyn Quita	Thy faire Pitcher
Para Munqui	Powring, rainest:
May nimpiri	Sometimes also
Chichi munqui	Thou sendst forth haile,
Riti munqui	Thou sendst forth snow.
Pacha rurac	The worlds maker,
Pacha camac	Pachacamac
Vira cocha	Viracocha
Cay hinapac	To this office
Churasunqui	Hath thee placed
Cama sunqui	And authorised.

Handicrafts. Goldsmiths.

Now for Handicrafts, the Goldsmiths (of which they had so many) knew not to make an anvile of Iron, nor of other mettall; nor to cast Iron, although they had Mines thereof. They used for anviles certaine hard stones, of a pale greene colour, which they plained and smoothed with rubbing one against another. They were rare and precious. They knew not how to make hammers with handles of wood, but wrought with instruments made of Copper and Laton mingled, in forme of a Dye, of severall sizes, which they held in their

hands to strike with as men doe with stones. They had no Files nor Chissels, nor Bellowes for casting of mettals, but used Pipes of Brasse, halfe a yard long or lesse, and joyned eight or tenne together as there was neede. Neither had they skill to make tongues. And *Carpenters.* yet did they make marveilous workes. Their Carpenters were as much to seeke or more, having no Iron tooles, [IV. vii. 1463.] but an Axe and a Hatchet and those of Brasse; no Saw, nor Augre, nor Plainer, nor Nailes, but fastned all things with lines or ropes of a kinde of heath. *Masons.* Neither were their Masons in better case: they used a certaine blacke stone not to cut but to beate their stone-works with force of their armes, and yet have left incredible Monuments of their art. The Jesuites and other Religions have instructed the youth since in other arts, in Dialogues and Comedies of Scripture. One Jesuite in praise of our Lady the Virgin Mary composed a Comedie in the Aymara tongue, the argument was *Note.* Gen. 3. I will put enmitie betweene thee and the woman, and betweene thy seede and her seede: She (so the Romists reade and make of it this remarkeable use) shall breake thy head, &c. A dialogue of the faith was recited at Potocsi before 12000. Indians, and another of the Sacrament at the Citie of Kings before innumerable, the Indian youth acting and pronouncing with such seemely gestures as much affected the Spaniards. The Licentiate Juan Cuellas read the Latin Grammer to the Mestizos of Cozco, with good fruite.

The third Booke.

MAyta Capac followed his predecessors examples, and went forth with 12000. men (the former expeditions had beene with lesse company, as of 7000 and so upwards as the state encreased) and covering his covetousnesse and ambition with pretence of converting people to his religion*, came to the disemboking of the great lake Titicaca, and made Boates for transporting his army. He brought under by faire meanes the Tiahuanacu, which people had admirable buildings. One was a hand-made

**This lesson the Spaniards have learned too well since.*

Mount admirable high, founded on stones joyned with morter, none could tell for what cause. In one roome thereof stood two figures of Giants cut in stone with long garments downe to the ground, with coverings on their heads, well worne with age. There was also a huge wall of stones so great that it may breede wonder what force of men might be able to bring or raise them where they are, seeing that in a great distance there are no quarries. There are other brave buildings, great porches or frontals, in divers places each made of one stone in all the foure parts; yea to greater admiration some of these are set on stone, of which some are thirtie foote long, and fifteene broad, and sixe in front, and these stones so great, and the porches are of one peece; nor can it be imagined with what instruments they were wrought. The Naturals say they are ancienter then the Incas times, and that they imitated these in building the fortresse of Cozco; and knew not who made them, but have a tradition that they were all made in a night. It seemeth that they were never finished, but were onely beginnings of what the founders intended. Diego de Alcobaça a Priest, my Schoolefellow, & borne in the same house that I was, being also my foster-brother, and a Preacher to the Indians; which hath beene there, wrote to me that in that Region Tiahuanacu fast by a lake called Chuquivitu, there stands a marveilous house, with a faire Court fifteene yards square, compassed with a high wall, on one side whereof is a great hall 45. foote long, and 22. wide, covered like the house of the Sunne in Cusco. This Court with the wals and floore, hall, roofe, porches, and thresholds of two doores (the one of the hall, the other into the court) is all made of one peece wrought in one rocke: the wals of the hall and of the wall are three quarters of a yard thicke. The roofe though it seeme of thatch is of stone. They say it was dedicated to the Maker of the World. There are also many stones cut in shapes of men and women, so naturall as if they were alive drinking with cups in their

Admirable buildings. Pedro de Cieaza. c. 105. handleth this from his owne sight more largely.

Men-stones.

hands, some sitting, some on their feete, others as it were passing, others with children in their armes, and 1000. other postures. The Indians say that for their sinnes, and for stoning a man which passed thorow that Province, they were converted into statues. But to returne to our Inca, he subdued many Nations or pettie habitations; such as would not be wonne by perswasions hee mastered with seege and hunger. Battels were very rare. Hee died having raigned about thirtie yeares, and was bewailed a yeare after the custome. His Sonne Capac Yupanqui succeeded, the fifth Inca.

Capac Yupanqui the fifth Inca.

His first care, after his Diadem assured, was to visite his Kingdome; in which visitation hee spent two yeares, enquiring into the courses of his Ministers and Governours. After this hee went up from Cozco with 20000. men, and went Westward. Hee caused a Bridge to be made in the River Apurimac at Huacachaca, lower then that of Accha. Hee passed over it to the faire Province Yanahura, which gladly received him; thence to Aymara, there being betwixt those two Provinces a Region dishabited of thirtie leagues; which passed, he found at the hill Mucansa much people of that Province (which is thirtie leagues long, fifteene wide, rich of Mines of Gold, Silver, Lead and Cattell) to encounter him. But he sought rather to beseege them on the hill, having purposely sent men about, and by hunger forced them to composition after a moneths siege. Having pacified the Aymaras, hee proceeded to Cotapampa and Cotanera of the Nation Quechua; and after to the Vallie of Hacari, great and fertile. Hee made another expedition, leaving his Brother his Lieutenant of his Kingdome, and the foure Masters of his Campe his Councellours, chusing others to serve him; and went to the Lake of Paria, where two Curacas at contention, made him arbitrator, and themselves his subjects in the division Collasuyu. Thence thorow a spacious Countrie unpeopled, but full of Cattell and hot Springs; hee came to the Provinces Tapacri and Cochapampa. Hee made another Bridge in

Osyer Bridge.

the water-passage of Titicara. The former of Huacachaca was made of Osyers, this of Bullrushes there growing, of which they made foure cables as big as a mans legge, reaching from one side to the other; on which they laid great bundles of the same matter as bigge as an Oxe, strongly tied together and to the Cables: over these bundles they made two other cables which they fastened surely with the bundles: upon these they laid other little bundles as bigge as a mans arme, woven into each other and with the cables; these were as the causey of the Bridge. This Bridge is thirteene or foureteene foot broad, and about one hundred and fiftie paces long. They renewed it every sixe moneths. Often use made readinesse and quicke dispatch. They removed it as they saw occasion. The Inca passed further to Chayanta, thorow a dishabited Countrey: this with five other great Provinces he subjected, and then returned to Cozco, and rewarded his Captaines. [IV. vii. 1464.] *Bul-rush bridg. See Acosta of their waies to passe Rivers.*

The Kingdome now reached one hundred and eighty leagues from Cusco Southwards, and Westwards to the Sea, sixtie leagues one way, and eightie another: to the East thirteene, to the South-east fortie. He adorned the houses of the Sunne which Manco Capac had founded, and that of the Virgins, with other great workes. After this he sent the Prince Roca with an army of 20000. men, by the way of Chinchasuyu Northwards from Cuzco, which had continued at a stay since Manco Capac, but seven leagues from the Citie, the Country beyond being rough and unpeopled. He entred into the rich Countrey of Sura, which gently received him, as did also the next called Apucara, which was in enmitie with the former. The like successe hee had in Rucana, Namasca, and other Vallies to Arequepa eightie leagues outright, and foureteene in breadth. The Inca transplanted people from those parts to Apurimac, both being hot Regions. Old Inca Capac Yupanqui after these things dyed, leaving about eightie children (some of them left one hundred, some two hundred, and some *Removing of people from one place to another.* *Many children.*

above three hundred) and his Sonne Roca succeeded. Let us now speake of Cozco and the holies thereof.

Religious reputation of Cozco and the superstitious holies therein.

One of the principallest Idols of that Empire was Cosco, the Imperiall Citie, which the Indians worshipped as a thing sacred, because it was founded by Inca Manco Capac, and because it was the house and Court of the Incas their gods. If an Indian in the way met another which came from Cozco, though otherwise equall, and now he himselfe were going thither, he gave him respect therefore as his superiour for having beene there; how much more if he were a neere dweller, or Citizen there? The like was in Seedes, Pulse, or whatsoever was brought from Cozco, more esteemed for that cause then those of other parts in other respects as good. To hold it still in reputation, the Kings adorned it with sumptuous buildings, of which the principall was the Temple of the Sunne, every Inca increasing it, which is said to be builded by Yupanqui, because he enriched it, being before founded by Manco. The Chappell or shrine of the Sunne was that which is now the Church of Saint Domingo (although not the same altogether) wrought of polished stone. The high Altar (that we may so call it, for they knew not how to make an Altar) stood to the East, the roofe was thatched (for they could not make tile.) All foure wals were covered from the top to the bottome with Plates of Gold. In the East or high Altar stood the figure of the Sunne, made of one planke or plate of Gold, twice as thicke as the other plates on the wals; the face round with rayes and flames of fire, all of a peece. It was so great that it tooke up all the end from one wall to the other. Neither had they any other idols in that or any other Temple but this: for indeede (whatsoever others say) they worshipped no other gods but the Sunne. This Idoll fell by lot, in the Spanish Conquerours sharing, to one Mancio Serra, whom I knew and left alive when I came to Spaine, who lost it at play in a night, whence they said Proverbially, hee had plaid away the Sunne before

The Temple of the Sunne.

Rich hangings.

Sunnes image.

it was up. Hee was after chosen the ordinary Alcalde of the Citie many yeares, and grew to abhoore play very much. But by such a share falling to one man, may be guessed the exceeding riches of that Citie. On the one side and on the other of that Image were the deceased bodies of the Kings, placed according to their antiquitie, as children of the Sunne, embalmed (wee know not how) so that they seemed alive. They were set in their seates of Gold placed on plankes of gold, holding their faces to the people. Onely Huayna Capac was placed before the figure of the Sunne with his face to it: as his best beloved sonne, whom they worshipped in his life time for his vertues. These corpes the Indians did hide with the rest of their treasures, the most of which is not yet knowne. Anno 1559. the Licentiate Polo found five of them, three of the Kings, and two of the Queenes. The principall doore looked to the North, as it still abides. That and the other lesse doores were lined with plates of Gold, in manner of a Porch. Without the Temple, on the top of the wals ran all alongst a chamfred worke of gold, in forme of a Crowne, above a yard broad, round about the Temple.

Bodies of Kings deceasad.

Huayna Capac.

Beyond the Temple was a Cloister of foure squares (one of which was the Temple) round about the top whereof was such a crowne of chamfered gold, as is before mentioned, above a yard broad, instead of which the Spaniards have set up one of white plaister. There were squares, or severed Chappels standing by themselves, covered like a pyramis, which made the three other sides of the Cloister. One of them was dedicated to the Moone, all which and the doores thereof was covered with plates of Silver. Her Image was placed therein like that of the Sun, with a womans face in a planke of Silver. Thither they went to visite her, and to commend themselves to her as the wife and sister of the Sunne, and mother of the Incas, and all their generation; and called her Mamaquillia, Mother Moone: but

A rich Cloister.

Five Chappels.

Moone Chappell.

[IV. vii. 1465.]

offered no Sacrifices to her as to the Sunne. On each hand of the Moones image were the bodies of the Queenes deceased ranked in order of their antiquitie. Mamaoello Mother of Huayna Capac stood before the Moone face to face, for producing such a Sonne. The next roome to that of the Moone, was dedicated to the Planet Venus, and to the seven Starres, and to all the Starres in common, which they held to be the servants of the Moone, and therefore placed them about their Lady to be ready at hand for any service. The next roome was lined with silver also, and the porch of silver. The roofe was made with resemblances of Starres great and small, like the starrie firmament. The next to this of the Starres was dedicated to the Thunder and Lightning and Thunderbolt, all which were signified in one word Yllapa. They worshipped them not for gods, but held them for servants of the Sunne. They made no picture thereof. The fourth roome or Chappell was dedicated to the Rainebow, which they esteemed servant to the Sunne; this roome and the former were all garnished with gold. On the golden plankes of this was the Rainebow painted. When they saw a Rainebow in the skie, they covered their mouth with their hand, saying, that if their teeth were uncovered they would consume. The fifth building was for the chiefe Priests, and the other Priests which served in the Temple, not to eate or drinke in, but for consultation about their Sacrifices: it was garnished with gold from the top to the bottome.

Chappell of Venus & Stars.

Chappell of Starrie skie.

Chappell of thunder, lightning and bolt.

Chappell of Rainebow.

Priests.

The chiefe Priest was called Villac Umu, that is, the Priest which speaketh, namely to the people, what the Sunne hath given him in charge, or divels, or dreames, or other divinations have foretold. Three of those five roomes remaine, the Gold and Silver except. Those of the Moone and Starres are downe. Every side had foure Tabernacles without, which had like workes on them in stone, as within of mettall. Not onely the wals but the floores of those Tabernacles also was of Gold. The

Images were also pouldered with Gemmes, Turkesses, and Emeralds; for they had no Diamonds nor Rubies. There were twelve doores to the Cloister, and as many Tabernacles or shrines, besides that of the Moones Chappell and of the Starres, these were of Silver, the rest were all plated over with Gold in forme of Porches. They had also in the house of the Sunne many other roomes or chambers for the Priests and servants of the house, which were Incas of priviledge: For none but an Inca might enter into that house; nor any woman, no not the wives or daughters of the King. The Priests served their courses by weekes, which they reckoned by the quarters of the Moone: in which space they departed not out of the Temple day nor night. The Porters and all inferior officers were of the same townes which served in the King's house; there being no difference made in the two houses of the Father and the Sunne, but that one had women, the other no Sacrifice in it, equall otherwise in Majestie. For severall Sacrifices they had severall roomes. In the house were five Fountaines of water which runne thence in pipes of Gold: the Pillars were some of stone, others of Gold hollow, others of Silver; there they washed the Sacrifices. Onely one of these Fountaines were left to water the garden of the Covent, till 1558. when it being occasionally broken, no Indian could tell whence that water came, or how to helpe it. Such traditions of sacred things it seemes were kept by their Priests, and now lost. Occasion seven moneths after found the water, which they amended without further search of the Fountaine, the pipes lying very low.

Women might not enter.

Moveable weekes.

Servitors.

Sacrifices.

Fountaines.

This Garden was in the Incas time a Garden of Silver and Gold, as they had in the Kings houses, where they had many sorts of Hearbes, Flowers, Plants, Trees, Beasts great and small, wilde, tame, Snakes, Lizards, Snailes, Butterflies, small and great Birds, each set in their place. They had Maiz, Quinva, Pulse, Fruit-trees with the fruite on them all of Gold and Silver,

Garden of gold and silver.

resembling the naturall. They had also in the house heapes of wood, all counterfeit of Gold and Silver, as they had in the house royall: likewise they had great statues of men and women, and children, and many Pirva or Trosses for corne, every day inventing new fashions of greater Majestie, using yearely on the Sunnes chiefe festivities to present him so much Silver and Gold wrought into counterfeit formes. All the Vessell (which was infinite) for the Temples service, Pots, Pans, Tubs, Hogsheads, was of Gold and Silver, even to the Spades, and Pickaxes for the Garden. Like to this Temple of Cozco were others in many Provinces of that Kingdome, in which every Curaca indevoured according to his power to have such riches of Gold and Silver. But the most famous was that of Titicaca.

Golden counterfeits.

All vessels and instruments of Gold.

This might for Gold and Silver compare with that of Cozco. It is an Iland in the mids of a Lake of the same name, where their fables tell that after the floud, the Sunne first shined; and after that, he exposed his Sonne and Daughter (as ye have heard) to civillize the world. In these respects it was holden for a place sacred thorow all that Empire, and a Temple was built therein, all lined with plates of Gold, dedicated to the Sunne. All places subject to the Empire, yeerely offered Gold and Silver, and Precious stones, in thanksgiving to the Sunne for his benefits there done them. This Temple had the same Service as that at Cozco. Of the offerings of Gold and Silver was such a quantitie stored in the Ile, besides that which was wrought, that it is more matter of wonder then credit. Blas Valera saith, that the Indians reported that there was enough to build another Temple from the foundation, and when the Spaniards came, they threw it all into the Lake.

Rich Temple at Titicaca.

[IV. vii. 1466.]

In the Valley of Orcos, six leagues Southwards from Cuzco is a little Lake above a mile about, but very deepe, into which the report was that much of Cuzco treasure was throwne. Some Spaniards agreed to be at cost to emptie it, Anno 1557. but having entred fiftie paces into

Spanish undertaking for treasure.

their maine worke, by which they had thought to have conveied the water into the River Yucay, they were encountered with a rocke, which seeking to make way thorow, they brought forth more fire then stone, and were enforced to give over. The Indians are thought to have hidden infinite treasures. But for that barren rockie Ice the Incas were at further cost to cover the stone with good earth, that it might beare Mayz (which growes no where in that cold Region) of which a little quantitie grew, and by the King was offered to the Sunne in his Temple, and to the chosen Virgins in Cuzco, which were to send it to other Monasteries and Temples, one yeare to one, and another to another, that they might have of that graine which seemed to have come from heaven. They sowed it in Gardens of the Sunnes Temple, and made such adoe about keeping and bestowing it, that that Indian thought himselfe a happy man which had a graine of that Maiz, and that he should never want bread all daies of his life.

Superstitious corne.

THe Incas had houses of Virgins retired in many Provinces, touching which the Spanish Historians have beene deceived. I will speake of the house at Cusco called Acllahua, that is, the house of the chosen, to wit, for their beautie, or stocke, to serve the Sunne. These lived not in the Temple of the Sunne, but distant a streete from it, a row of houses going betweene them. For neither might men enter where the Nuns were, nor women where the Priests were. It was necessary that these women should be of royall bloud, without any mixture of either side. There were in it ordinarily 1500. Nunnes. Some of them were ancient, called Mamacuna, that is, Mothers which take charge, or care of the rest. Some were as Abbesses, others as teachers of the Novices both in rites and handiworkes, as to spin, weave and sow; others were porters, or providers of necessaries. They lived in perpetuall closure to their dying day, neither might they speake with any man, or see any man or

The fourth Booke. Houses of Virgins.

1500. *Nuns.*

Exceeding stricktnesse.

woman, but those of their owne house. Onely the Coya and her daughters might have leave to enter and conferre with them. By them the Inca sent to know how they did, and whereof they had neede. The principall gate was not opened but for the Queene, or to receive Novices.

Men Porters. They had twentie Porters, which men might not passe the second gate under paine of death. They had five

Nuns workes. hundred Girles for service of the Monasterie, daughters to those which the first Inca had priviledged to be Incas. These also had their Mamacunas. The principall exercise which the women of the Sunne did, was to make all the

Robes for perfume. garments and robes that the Inca or his Coya did weare, and those fine robes which were offered to the Sunne. The King himselfe might not give those Garments to any of his Curacas which were not of his bloud. They made also the Bread for the Sacrifices to the Sunne at the great feasts Raymi and Sittua, called Zancu, and the drinke which the Inca then dranke.

All the Utensils of the house, even to Pots and Pans, were of Gold and Silver, as in the house of the Sunne.

Golden Garden. Perpetuall virginitie. They had such a Garden also as the other, of golden Plants, Birds and Beasts. Obedience and Virginitie was perpetuall, under paine of burying quicke. Any man which should defloure, must not onely dye himselfe, but his wife, children, kindred and neighbours. Such the Law, but there was never found cause of execution.

Other Nunneries. Like to these of Cuzco, dedicated to the Sunne, were other Nunnes and houses in principall Provinces of the Kingdome. In which were admitted those of the bloud Royall, pure, and mixed, and daughters also of the Curacas as a great favour. Also some of the fairest of the common people to be concubines for the Inca, and not for the Sunne, but kept with like vigilance. Their life was like the other, and their maintenance from the Inca. Their workes the Inca might impart with others, and themselves also he might take out for his Concubines, which then might not returne againe, but either served the Queene or were sent into their Countries with great

credit. Those also which were old in these houses might have like license. Those that were dedicated for the King present, when hee was dead, were called Mamacumas, and were instructers of those Concubines which entred for the New Inca. *Mamacumas when.*

Every of these houses had a Governour, which must be an Inca: a steward and others officers. All the vessels were of Gold and Silver, as in the houses of the Sunne and of the King, so that all the Gold and Silver in the whole Kingdome was spent in manner in the Sunnes service, and of those which were esteemed his descendants. The Curacas were stinted what vessels of Plate they might have for their owne use, which was but little. They might never be bestowed on other men, which had beene chosen women for the Inca; for they held it a profanation of that which was holy; yea to be a slave to the Inca was more esteemed then to be wife of another Lord, esteeming him as next to the Sunne; wherein some Spanish authors have beene deceived, yet did he reward his great men with women, but they were the daughters of other Curacas or Captaines, which held this for a favour done them that he should esteeme their daughter as a jewell, which with his owne hand he would bestow. Sometimes (but seldome) he bestowed on some of the Curacas his owne Daughters which were (as they esteemed such as were not of the whole bloud) bastards, which hee had by women not of his Inca-kindred, which was holden Divine. *Spanish authors deceived.* [IV. vii. 1467.]

Besides these, there were many other of Royall bloud which lived retired in their owne houses with vow of Virginity, though not inclosed in any Monastery: which tooke libertie to goe out to visit their kindred neere them in their sicknesse or travell. Such were highly reputed and were called Oclio, a sacred name: and if they lost their chastitie, were burned alive or cast to the Lyons Denne. One of these very old I knew, which visited my Mother, beeing her Grandfathers sister. Widowes in the first yeere of their widow-hood kept very close; *Another sort of Nunnes.* *Widowes.*

those which had no children married againe; but those which had, continued continent all their lives; in which respect the Lawes allowed them many priviledges, and the tillage of their grounds before the Curacas or Incas.

Marriages. And for matter of Marriage in Cozco, once in a yeere or two, the King assembled all the youth of both Sexes, of his owne Linage, the Males of twentie to foure and twentie, the Maids of eighteene and so to twentie (he permitted them not sooner to marry) and called them forth, such a man and such a maide, and having joyned them with his owne hand, delivered them to their Parents: after which the Marriage Feast was solemnized by the new Parents, two, foure, or sixe dayes. These were legitimate wives and the most honoured. The day following his Officers did the like for the Citizens, observing the distinction of High and Low Cozco. The Governour in each Division with the Curacas did the like in their governments, the Inca never usurping but assisting the Curacas Jurisdiction. Those of one Province might not marry with those of another, but observed the Rites of the Tribes of Israel: nor might they goe to live out of their Provinces or out of their owne Townes, or the Wards of the same Towne.

Tribes, towns, wards, not intermarrying.

Lawes of Inheritance. In defect of children by the lawfull Wife, the Inheritance by Law fell on the eldest of the bloud lawfull, as from Huascar to Manco and never to Bastards: for which Lawes sake Atahualpa destroyed all the Royall bloud, hee being a Bastard. Others might not marrie their sister, but the Inca only. The Provinces differed in some cases, the elder Sonne of the Inca succeeding, in other places all the brethren after each other, and somewhere the best esteemed of the Sonnes. Such usages were before the Incas times, and not broken by them.

Divers customes. The Incas made a great Feast at the wayning of their eldest Son, which was at two yeeres old or upwards, & they first cut off his haire with a flint-razor, the Fathers beginning, each following in his dignity: then did they name him and offer presents. The same

was imitated by the Curacas and the people. Their children were brought up without any dainty nicenesse. Assoone as they were born they washed them in cold water, and then put them in blankets. They gave them the breast but at morning, and noone and night, thrice a day, how much soever they cried, lest they should be gluttons. But if I should follow our Author in houshold affaires, I should be too long.

Care of Infants.

Inca Roca their sixth King pursued his Northerne Conquests to Chanca, a valiant Nation, which say they descended of a Lyon, and therefore worshipped the Lyon for God. I have seene them in their Feast of the Sacrament twelve of them like Hercules, attired in a Lyons skinne. He proceeded to the end of the Province Antahuaylla and thence to Uramarca and Hancohuallu and Villca, Sulla, and Utunsulla. After that he sent his Sonne the Prince Yahuarhuarac to Antisuyu or the East, where since Manco Capac they had done nothing. They say that when this Prince was borne, he wept bloud, and so his name signifieth. Other Historians have herein beene deceived. He tooke with him fifteene hundred Warriours, and three Campe-masters. Hee went to Hauisca (which was after, the lot of my Father Garcilasso de la Vega) and thence to the Vallies where the herbe Cuca groweth, so much esteemed by them: and beyond it to Cannac-huay which hath five leagues of descent almost perpendicular, and striking terrour to the beholders: how much more to them which goe downe, the way winding like a Snake? In these Provinces of the Antis they worshipped Tygres and great Snakes five and twentie or thirtie foot in length, called Amaru, which doe no harme, being as some say, charmed to that innocence by a great Magician. They worshipped also the herbe Cuca or Coca as the Spaniards call it. In this Expedition the Prince added thirtie leagues to the Empire, but ill peopled. The Inca Roca leaving the Prince his Deputie, went with thirty thousand to the Conquest of Charcas: and added fiftie leagues square to his Sove-

Inca Roca the six King his conquests.

Acosta and other, say that it was thorow griefe of captivitie.

Cuca.

Steep & deepe descent of five leagues.

Yahuar Huacac the seventh Inca.

reigntie: after which he dyed and his Sonne Yahuar Huacac succeeded. Rocas Lawes and Schooles which he is said first of all to have founded in Cozco, for the Arts aforesaid, I omit. He was wont to say that Pachacamac must needs be a great King which had such a house as the glorious Heavens to dwell in: also, that if he were to worship any thing below, he would worship a wise and understanding man: Yet saith he, that which beginneth, groweth, dieth irrecoverably, ought not to be worshipped.

Apophthegmes.

Yahuar Huacar or weep-bloud, for the ill divinings of that accident at his birth, stayed a good while in visiting his Kingdomes before hee thought upon Conquests. Yet at length hee sent his Brother Inca Mayta with twenty thousand South-westward, which conquered from Arequepa to Tacama. After this he minded a more haughtie Designe to conquer Caranca and other Regions in the Division Collasuyu valiant people, but was soone called to other thoughts by the ill demeanour of his eldest Sonne, whom therefore hee purposed to disherit for his cruell conditions. He caused him to live with the Shepherds which kept the Cattle of the Sunne in Chita, which he did, carrying himselfe like a Shepherd three yeeres and a halfe. He came one afternoone to his Fathers house and sent to speake with him, who sent him word that he should goe thither where he had placed him, having incurred death by breaking his precept. Hee sent word that hee came with a message from as great a Lord as himselfe, which when he had delivered he would returne. He marvelling what Lord that should be, admitted him to his presence, and heard him tell that at noone that day, as he was feeding the Sunnes cattell, there stood a man, before him in a strange habit and forme, having a beard on his face above a span long, and clothed to the foot, with an unknowne creature fastened to his necke. He said that he was the Sonne of the Sunne and brother of Manco Capac the first Inca, and therefore to them all: that hee was named Viracocha Inca, and

Yahuarhuacac acts.

[IV. vii. 1468.] *Feare of his Sonne.*

A vision of the Prince.

came from the Sunne our Father to give him advise that the most of the Provinces of Chinchasuyu, both subjects and others, were in armes and comming with a mightie Armie to destroy the Imperiall Citie Cozco: that therefore he should prevent and provide in time. And feare them not, for in whatsoever adversitie I will succour thee as my flesh and bloud. After these words hee vanished away. His Father chid him and would not beleeve him. Three monethes after came newes of the Rebellion of many Nations which had killed their Governours, and had assembled thirty thousand Souldiers in demand of Cozco: Hancohuallu was their Generall. This was the first Rebellion of the Provinces which the Incas had conquered, and was so sudden to Yahuar Huacac that hee fled out of Cozco with a few followers, with purpose to secure himselfe in Collasuyu. The Citizens were readie to flee each his way, till some thinking of the Prince (whom upon that Dreame or Vision they called Viracocha Inca, his former name is unknowne) gave him intelligence thereof. He gathered what forces he could, and followed his Father to whom having presented in a pithy speech, the miserable leaving of the house and holies of the Sunne, and of the Sunnes Virgins to such prophane Enemies, hee bid those which loved an honourable death before a shamefull life to follow him: which foure thousand of the Royall bloud did, to whom others from all parts assembled. Having set order in Cozco, hee went with eight thousand resolute Warriours to meete the enemy which had now passed the River Apurimac.

THe next day came newes of 20000. men, comming to his aide from Cuntisuyu, which hee attributed to Viracocha which had promised him succour in all distresse; this bred him respect, and confidence to the businesse with the Indians. He entertained these supplies joyfully, which told him of other five thousand comming two dayes behind. To these hee sent word *The fift Book.*

to Embuscado themselves in a place appointed, that so
Great battle. in the fury of the battle they might come forth unexpected. This they did and much daunted the enemies, especially when with shouts and cryes manifold small troupes came in also which were of such as had fled from Cozco, who hearing of the Princes resolution made head as they could and made the Rebels thinke that they should never see an end of their enemies.

Advantage by Fables. A brute was also raised, and rumoured in both Campes that Viracocha turned stones and trees into men, to fight for the Prince. The battle continued eight houres with so much bloud, that a Brooke in the Plaine ranne therewith. Twentie thousand were slaine on both sides, twelve thousand of the Rebels side besides their Generall
Acosta taxed. and Campemasters taken. Father Acosta hath much
See sup. 1060. of this Viracocha, but altogether fabulous. For the Indians esteeme him next to the Sunne, and his Son not above him, beleeving but two Gods the invisible and visible as is said; the Indians telling Fables to please the Spaniards, and some things for want of the Language were not rightly understood by the Spaniards.

Their dealing with the Sun. The Prince after the Victory sent three Messengers, the first to the house of the Sunne (for in all things they dealt with him as if he had beene a bodily man, setting him meate and drinke, &c.) the other to the house of the Virgins, the third to his Father. He dealt very mildly with the Rebels and their wives and children, pardoning them and providing for the Widowes and Orphans. Hee was received with great Jubilee in Cozco, and thence went to the Straits of Muyna, to visit his Father which seemed malcontent. They spake some words in private, and the Prince came forth and said that his Father would not returne to Cozco. This (whether true or false) was enough, and in vaine had he now gainsaid it; so that a Pallace of pleasures was
Why the Spaniards were called Viracocha. there built for the Father to spend the rest of his dayes, his Sonne taking the Diademe. This Vision of Virachoca with a beard and clothed to the foot, whereas the beard-

lesse Natives are clothed but to the knees, was the cause that the Spaniards at their first comming were called Virachoca: and for that they tooke and killed the Tyrant Atahuallpa, which had slaine Huascar the right Heire, and wrought so many cruelties. Which caused that six Spaniards alone, of which was Soto and Barco, went to Cozco two or three hundred leagues without harme. They called them also Incas, Sonnes of the Sunne. That which some say, [b] that they were called Virachoca, because they came by Sea, saying that the word signifieth the fat (or scumme) of the Sea, they are deceived: for Virachoca is the Sea of fat, or tallow (Vira, sebo, cocha, mar) so that it appeares to be a proper name, and not compounded. I conceive further that the Artillery was the cause that they were called Virachoca.

[b] *Acosta saith they were so called because they came by Sea: Benzo, as the froth or scumme of the Sea, in contempt.*

This Inca Viracocha by his victorie and vision was so esteemed, that in his life time they worshipped him as a God sent by the Sunne for reparation of things amisse, reverenced him beyond his predecessors. He built a Temple for memoriall of that Vision to Viracocha in Cacha, therein imitating, as much as was possible, the place where hee saw the same, and therefore without a roofe: it was an hundred and twenty foot long, and eighty wide, of stone fairely wrought, with foure doores, the Easterne onely open, with his figure in a Chappell, somewhat resembling those Images which wee make of the Apostles. The Spaniards destroyed it, as they did other famous workes which they found in Peru, scarsely any Monument remayning: which they did to search for treasure under them. He made also two huge Birds called Contures (so great, that some have beene found with the extremes of their wings extended, five Varas, or Spanish yards asunder) they are fowles of prey, so fierce, that their dammes breake their talons; the beake so strong, that at once they will breake the hide * of a Cow. Hee made the picture of these two Birds, one representing his father in mysterie fleeing from Cozco, the other Viracocha. He sought to gratifie his Com-

[IV. vii. 1469.]

Viracochas Temple.

Condores or Contors, huge birds.

**Cuero, perhaps it should be cuerno, the horne.*

manders and Subjects, and sought new conquests. Hee sent Pahuac may ta Inca his brother against Caranca, Ullaca, Llipi, Chicha and Ampara. These two last worshipped the ranke of Hills for their heigth, and for the Rivers which they yeeld. These were all subjected: and Eastward to the Sierra, or snowy Hill, Southwards to the furthest Province of Charcas two hundred leagues from Cozco. So that the Sea and the Hills on each hand, and Southward the Desarts betwixt them and Chili, bounded the Empire. Northwards hee went with thirty thousand warriours to Huamanca, and other Nations which hee subjected. Hee made a water-passage twelve foot in the channell, to run an hundred and twenty leagues from betwixt Parcu and Picuy to Rucanas; and another thorow all the division Cuntisuyu from South to North one hundred and fifty leagues from the high Sierras to the Quechuas: which may be ranked with the Wonders of the world considering the Rockes they brake thorow without instruments of steele, and onely by stones with force of hands. Neither know they to make arches, but were driven to goe about. The Spaniards have suffered them all to perish; as they have permitted two third parts of those which were to water the Corne grounds to be lost also.

Huge Aquæducts.

Tucma.

Embassadours came from Tucma (the Spaniards call it Tucuman) to the Inca, offering vassalage, whom hee made to drinke in his presence (an inestimable favour) and promised so much better respect as his course deserved. Hancohuallu notwithstanding all his kinde usage, left his Countries to goe seeke new, and the Inca sent Colonies to the Chancas. This Inca they say had a foretelling of the Spaniards comming. Hee died, and left his sonne Pachacutec Inca his heire. It is supposed that he raigned about fiftie yeeres. Anno 1560. I saw his body in Cozco, in the possession of Licenciate Polo, with foure others: this with white haires, the second of Tupac Inca Yupanqui, the third of Huayna Capac, which two were hoary but not white:

Bodies of the Kings seene. See sup. Acosta.

the two other were Queens; Mama Runtu wife to Viracocha and Mama Ocllo mother of Huayna Capac. They were so whole that there wanted not haire, eie-brows, nor haire on the eie-lids. They had their garments, ribands, & diadems, as while they lived. They were set as the Indians use with their hands acrosse on their breasts, the right hand over the left, their eyes downwards, as looking on the ground, and seemed as if they had beene alive, and full fleshed. The Indians would never tell the Spaniards their enbalming arte. They weighed so little, that they were easily carried to the Gentlemens houses which desired to see them. The Indians by the way kneeled to them with sighs and tears.

Manner of improving and allotting lands.

When the Inca had conquered any Province, and setled the government, hee improved the lands which would beare Mayz, sending Enginers to that purpose for conveyance of waters, without which they sowed no Mayz in those hot Countries. They also made plaine the fields, and layd them in squares, the better to receive the water. They made plaine the Mountaines which were capable of seed, as it were in scales or steppes, one plaine subordinate to another, therefore called Andenes. Having thus improved the Land, they divided it, to each Towne their share by themselves: each subdivided into three parts, one for the Sunne, a second for the King, and the third for the Naturals; with that provision, that alway the Naturals should have sufficient, and if the people increased, the Sunnes and Incas part were lessened, that they should not want. The like division they made of the grounds which needed not such watering, sowed with other seeds. The Andenes commonly belonged in greatest part to the Sunne, and the Inca. The Mayz grounds they sowed every yeere, heartning them with dung, as Gardens.

The Sunne, Inca and people sharers.

Andenes.

Order of tillage.

They first husbanded the Sunnes grounds, next that of Widowes and Orphanes, and of the old and sicke, all

which were holden for poore, and had peculiar men in every Towne appointed Officers for that purpose. They had seed also, if they wanted, out of the Store-houses. Each man was tied to husband enough for provision to his owne houshold. The lands of those which served in the warres were provided as those of the poore; their wives for that time being respected as widowes. And if any were slaine in the warres, great care was had of his children. After these lands, each man tilled his owne, one helping another in course; then those of the Curaca, which were last cultivated in every Towne. In Huayna Capacs time, one of the Chachapuyas was hanged for tilling the Curacas land his kinsman, before the widowes, and the Gallowes was set up in the Curacas land, where hee had transgressed the Incas precept. The last of all was the Incas lands, which thought his good to be grounded on the prosperitie of his Subjects. These and those of the Sunne were common workes which they did with their best ornaments and rayment, with spangles of Silver and Gold, and feathers on their heads, as on festivall dayes; with songs in breaking up their ground, in praise of their God and Prince. One Anden neere Cozco, being the first in the Kingdome which was dedicated to the Sunne, was tilled onely by Incas and Pallas of the bloud Royall with a great feast in their beast jewels, making Songs of Haylli, that is, of triumph. Their Plough (or Spade rather) was of wood, a yard long, plaine before and pointed, round behind, foure fingers thicke; halfe a yard from the point was a stirrup of two pieces of wood fastned to the principall, in which he set his foot, leaping and thrusting it forcibly into the ground up to the stirrup. They went in companies, seven or eight together, and digged up turfes of incredible bignesse. The women went besides them to helpe with their hands to lift up the earth, and weed out the rootes, and to cheare them with Songs. The Land was divided to each man according to the number

Care of Widowes, Poore, and Souldiers.

[IV. vii. 1470.]

Workes in common done with festivall alacritie.

Incas labour.

Spade.

Women.

of his familie, and to the Curacas in greater proportions; likewise the water and other things necessary.

The principall tribute which they payed was this labouring the grounds of the Sunne and Inca, gathering their fruits, and keeping them in places appointed. Of their owne private lands they payd nothing. Other tributes were their making of clothes, shooes and armes for expense in warre, to which end they had wooll of the Cattell of the Sunne and Inca, which were innumerable in the Hills, and Cotton in the Plaines. The poore were tied to give on certaine dayes so many pipes of Lice so to acknowledge subjection, and to keepe themselves cleane. The Royall kindred, Priests, Ministers, and Curacas were tribute-free; the chiefe Captaines to Centurions, the Judges, Officers and Souldiers in time of service, young men under 25. and old men above 50. and all women and maidens: Their labour was not imposed but voluntary. Gold, Silver and Gemmes were not reckoned tribute, nor treasure, nor price of other things bought and sold, or of mens labour. Onely they esteemed them for beautie, and thereof made voluntary presents for the Temples, Nunneries and houses Royall. For they might not visite a Superiour without a Present. The Curacas in the principall feasts must visite the Inca, and made him Presents of these or other things of account, as materials for buildings, Lyons, Tigres, Beares, Parots, Monkies, great Snakes, or any other thing faire, fierce, great or strange. The King had in every Towne two places, one to keepe his goods for the service of the Sunne and himselfe, another for provision against deare yeeres; besides others for high-wayes, &c. Wooll was distributed every two yeeres, as any had need for garments for them and theirs, so that none needed to begge, neither had they any beggars in later times. I never saw Indian man or woman in my time that begged, but one old woman named Isabell, which did it more to goe from house to house, as a Gipsie or Juggler,

Tributes of labour.

Lowse tribute.

Scot-free men.

Gold and Silver no money.

Presents.

Repositories.

No beggars.

then for any need. The Incas also caused to build publike Innes for entertainment of Strangers, which had all necessaries free out of the Kings Store-houses: and if any were sicke, they were likewise provided for. None travelled in private affaires, but in the Kings businesse. When any new conquest was made, they recorded on their quipus the quantitie, qualitie, site and other conditions of the lands of each Province, Towne and Division, that order might accordingly be taken. The Mines were given to the Curacas. Salt, Fish and Cotton were common, none to applie any part to himselfe, but to gather what hee needed. Each man might plant trees in his owne ground and enjoy them at his pleasure. The lands were divided as you have heard.

Innes and travellers.

Hospitals.

Course in new conquests.

The Sixth Booke.

Stupendious buildings and riches of the Incas.

THe service and ornament of the houses Royall of the Incas may seeme to have exceeded any Kings of the world in some things. The buildings of their Houses, Temples, Gardens, and Baths were adorned with stone fairely wrought, and set so close that the joynture could not bee seene. Many of them had melted Lead or Silver or Gold for the joyning, which caused the totall destruction of them all, by the Spaniards seeking for those metals. They had the counterfeits in Gold and Silver of herbs which growe on walls, as if they had beene the plants there growing: and likewise the resemblances of Mice, Butterflies, Snakes great and small, Lizards seeming to move; the Incas chambers were lined with Gold, with figures of Men, Women, Birds, all knowne Beasts wilde and tame, all in their naturall figure and largenesse in Gold and Silver; the Incas Chaires of state were of solid Gold, without backes, having a great square Table of Gold over them. All the vessels of service both for Table, Butterie and Kitchin, small and great, were of Gold and Silver, and that in all the Kings houses, so that when hee journeyed in progresse they did not remove them from one house

Their houses.

to another, as likewise in the Provinces where he had occasion to march with his Armies, or to visite his Kingdomes. Hee had in them also of like metals many Granaries and Repositories not to keepe Graine, but to expresse Majestie.

Garments. Cieça, Zarate, Gomera, and other Spanish writers testifie the same of these prodigious treasures in Peru. [IV. vii. 1471.]

Hee had store of rich garments, the Inca never using to weare one thing twice, but giving them once worne, to his kindred. The bed-furniture was of the wooll of the Vicunna, so fine, that King Philips Beds are thence furnished. Feather-beds they had not, but had such Mantles layd over and under them. Tapistrie was supplied with linings of Gold and Silver on the walls. Their provisions for diet were abundant, they preparing for all their kindred and servants: the houres were from eight to nine in the morning, and in the evening lightly by day-light. Their drinking lasted till night, for whiles they eate they drinke not.

Gardens, Orchards and Bathes.

Their Gardens and Orchards had all the fairest trees and plants planted, and many others counterfeited of Gold or Silver; as Mayz with the leaves, stalkes, roots, and reedy tops of gold and silver mixed, and so in other herbs and flowers; some comming forth, some halfe growne, some ripe; with counterfeits of Lizards, Butterflies, Snakes, Foxes, wilde Cats (for they had none tame) Birds of all sorts and postures, set on trees and plants; Deere, Lions, Tigres, and whatsoever creatures the Land had, set in due places. Their Baths had great vessels in which they bathed themselves, of gold and silver, and water pipes of the same. They had also wood-stackes counterfeited thereof. The most of which treasures the Indians hid from the covetous Spaniards, unwilling that others should bee served with that which was for the service of their Kings.

Servants and Officers.

The servants and officers for Water, Fewell, and the Kitchin, for the Table of state (for the Women and Concubines provided for the Inca himselfe) Butlers, Porters, Keepers of the Wardrobe, Jewels, Gardens, and in other Offices, were not particular persons: but for

every Office they had two or three Townes assigned, whose charge it was to send men of abilitie and trust, by dayes, weekes, or moneths changed in course: and this was their tribute; the whole Towne being punished in any defect. These Townes were within sixe or seven leagues of Cozco, being those which Manco the first Inca had reduced from Savages to Townes of civilitie, and these were Incas by priviledge, and had the title and attire according. The Incas huntings were at certaine times of the yeere with twentie or thirtie thousand men, one halfe going on the right hand, the other on the left, circling in twentie or thirtie leagues, bringing in whatsoever wilde beasts in that compasse, and killing all they pleased. Every foure leagues they had Posts, swift runners for sudden messages, called Chasquis, either by word or quipus. But now wee will returne to Pachacutec.

Huntings.

Posts.

Pachacutec, the ninth Inca.

Pachacutec having finished the solemnities visited his Kingdome, to examine the courses of his Governours: and then set forth his brother Capac Yupanqui with an Armie, which passed thorow the Province Sausa, corruptly by the Spaniards, called Xauxa, which professe to be descended of a man and a woman which came out of a Fountaine; their Townes were like Fortresses: they worshipped the figure of a Dog, and did eate Dogs flesh savourly. They had also an Idoll like a man, in which the Devill spake. This people called Huanca were subjected, the Tarma and Pumpu also and Chucurpu, Ancara, Huayllas (in which Province he grievously punished Sodomites, a sinne before unknowne to the Indians) after which conquests hee returned to Cozco, having gained sixtie leagues North and South in that Expedition, continuing three yeeres. Pachacutec was busie in making Lawes, building Temples, founding Houses for elect or chosen Virgins in the Provinces (which was to make such Provinces, Citizens and Naturals of Cozco) in erecting Fortresses also in his frontiers, and Royall Palaces in the most delectable places, and Store-houses

Sausa Dog-worshippers.

Benefite and prerogative of Nunneries and Sun-temples.

to keepe provisions against yeeres of dearth. He spent three yeeres in visiting his Kingdome, and after sent his brother Inca Capac Yupanqui with his sonne the Prince Inca Yupanqui, knighted that yeere after their manner, and fiftie thousand men by Chinchusuyu to Pincu, Huaras, Piscopampa, Cunchucu, which being subjected, hee proceeded to Huamachucu, where they worshipped particoloured stones, and sacrificed mans flesh, which was in that conquest altered. After that they came to Cassamarca (famous for the taking of Atahualpa by the Spaniards) where they first stood out and after yeelded, and there was founded a Temple for the Sunne, and a house of Virgins, which after grew one of the chiefe in the Kingdome. In returning they subdued the Yavious, and were with festivall pompe entertained in Cozco, each Nation in the Citie gracing the solemnitie, singled in their severall bands with warlike Musike, adding Songs of triumph: betwixt the General and the Prince went the Inca Pachacutec, till they came to the limits of the Temple of the Sun, and then they put off their shooes, except the Inca which at the doore of the Temple was unshod also, where entring, adoring and rendring praises for the victories, they returned to the Market place where they solemnized the feast with songs, dances, and good cheere. Each Nation arose from their place and sung and danced before the Inca after their Countrie guise. This continued a moneth.

Peruan Knight.

Forme of Peruan triumph.

Shoo ceremonie.

After this the King with his sonne and brother went to the conquest of the Vallies Pisco, Yca, Chincha, which Countries hee enriched with a River from the Sierras, turning the course which naturally went Eastward into the West, to water the grounds. All those Nations for five hundred leagues space worshipped the Sea, besides the particular Idols of each People, and called it Mama-cocha, or Mother Sea, for her plentie of fish, which shee gave them to eate. They worshipped also the Whale for the monstrous greatnesse. In another expedition the Vallies Runahuanac, Huarcu, Malla, Chilca, all subject

River turned out of the course.

Sea worshipped.

to one Prince, were subdued, the Inca besieging and famishing their Armie. Then passed they to the Vallies of Pachacamac, Rimac, Caucay and Huaman, which also had one King, called Cuysmancu. The Spaniards corruptly call Rimac, Lima: Pachacamac had the name of the invisible God, neither had they any Temple to him in all Peru but here, the edifices and sacrifices whereof were remarkable. Besides beasts they sacrificed men, women and children. The Spaniards confound the Temple of Rimac, with that of Pachacamac, which were differing, that of Rimac being an Oracle (for Rimac signifieth him that speaketh) of much veneration with the Natives, and after the conquest with the Incas. The Spaniards founded there the Citie of Kings, so named, because founded on the day of the Epiphanie. Their Idoll was kept in a Temple, not so sumptuous as that of Pachacamac.

Pachacamacs Temple, and Oracle at Rimac or Lima. [IV. vii. 1472.]

Cuysmancu refused subjection to the Incas demands in name of the Sunne, saying his Pachacamac was the Creator and preserver of all, and therefore greater then the Sunne, to whom they had erected a Temple, where they offered the best things they had, and held him in such reverence, that when the King entred his Temple to worship him, he did not dare to looke on him, but he and the Priest went backwards with their shoulders towards the Idoll: and that hee also adored Rimac which fore-told things to come; and Mamacocha, the Sea. The Inca sent him word that they also in their hearts worshipped Pachacamac, but without Temple or Sacrifice, because they knew him not, and were fearefull to pronounce his name. Many other words of perswasion passed, and peace was concluded, on condition that they should worship the Sunne, as did the Incas, and make him a Temple apart as to Pachacamac; that they should take away their Idols in the Temple of Pachacamac, and worship him without Statue; and that they should cease humane Sacrifices: that a House of Virgins should be erected in the Valley of Pachacamac: that Cuysmancu

Rites of Pachacamacs Temple.

should remaine in his Lordship, acknowledging the Inca Lord Soveraigne, and obeying his Lawes, and that Rimacs Oracle should still bee in estimation. And thus Royall affaires, and those of greatest moment were after consulted of in Pachacamacs Temple, vulgar businesses were remitted to Rimac. Pachacutec having beene a great King and Priest and Captaine, enriched the Temple of the Sunne, covering the walls with plankes of Gold, as also the Shrines, and of the Cloister. Where the Idoll of the Sunne was, there is now the blessed Sacrament, and in the Cloister are Processions, and yeerely Festivals in the Covent of Saint Domingo.

Exchange and succession of Idols.

Hee sent his sonne in another Expedition, who comming to the Valley, entred Pachacamacs Temple, but without Sacrifices or verball Orisons, onely professing mentall adoration. He visited also the Temple of the Sunne with rich offerings, and then the Idoll Rimac; and after marched to Huamac, where Chimu a great Lord reigned: from thence to Truxillo in the Vallies Parmunca, Huallmi, Santa, Huarapu and Chimu. Here while Chimu would admit no new Gods, a bloudy warre followed, which at last ended in his vassallage. The Inca now having enlarged his estate above an hundred and thirty leagues North and South, and in breadth from the Hills to the Sea some sixtie or seventie leagues, fell to founding Townes, Temples, Store-houses, and reformed the Empire, ennobled the Schooles, augmented the Schoole-masters, caused all the Curacas and all Officers to learne the Cusco Language (as common) and much enlarged Cozco. Hee reigned about fiftie yeeres, or as others, above sixtie, and left Ynca Yupanqui his successor, leaving above three hundred sonnes and daughters. The Spanish Authours confound the father and the sonne. Many of his sentences and lawes are recorded by the authour, here omitted: as likewise the transplanting of Colonies, order of bringing up the Curacas heires in the Court; the common or Court Tongue; the description of Cozco, the Schooles, and the three Royall Palaces, Almes, &c.

Other Vallies subdued.

Common Tongue.

See of their Feasts in Acosta.

for all these I remit the curious to the Authour, fearing blame for this our length. Yet their chiefe Feast of the Sun, rites of triall and installing of Knights, I have added.

Cozco as Rome, mother of superstitions.

Raymi, that is, the Feast.

Cozco was another Rome, in which the Sunne had foure Festivall solemnities observed, the principall in June, which they called Yntip Raymi, as it were The Sunnes Easter, and absolutely Raymi, in acknowlegement of the Sunnes Deity over all, and his being Father of the Incas, Manco and his descendants. All the principall Captaines which were not then in the warres came to it, and all the Curacas, not by precept but of devotion, in adoration of the Sunne, and veneration of the Inca. And when age, sicknesse, distance or businesse in the Kings affaires detained them, they sent their sonnes or brethren with the chiefe of their kindred to that solemnitie. The King did performe the first ceremonies as Chiefe Priest: for although they had a high Priest alwaies of the bloud Royall, Brother or Uncle to the King, legitimate by Father and Mother; yet in this Feast proper to the Sunne, the King himselfe, as first-borne of the Sunne, was the principall Solemnizer. The Curacas came in their greatest braverie, and best devises; some like Hercules, in Lions skinnes with their heads in the Lions head-skinne, as boasting of descent from a Lion; some like Angels, with great wings of a Cuntur fourteene or fifteene foot distant in the extremes stretched out, as descended of that Fowle; some with vizors of most abominable and deformed formes, and those are the Yuncas; others with golden and silver ornaments; and others with other inventions. Every Nation carried the armes which they used in fight, as Bowes and Arrowes, Darts, Slings, Clubs, Lances, Axes, &c. the pictures also of whatsoever exploits they had done in the service of the Sunne or Incas. Once; all came in their best accoultrements and braverie that they were able.

Generall assembly.

The King was chiefe Priest at that Feast.

Braverie and Devises.

Fast of three dayes.

They prepared themselves to this festivitie with a rigorous Fast, in three dayes eating nothing but a little

white raw Mayz, and a few herbs with water; not kindling a fire in the Citie, or accompanying with their wives all that time. The Fast ended, or the night before the Feast the Priests Incas made ready the Sacrifices and Offerings, which every Nation is to provide. The women of the Sunne make that night a great quantity of dowe of Maiz called çancu, whereof they make little loves as bigge as a common Apple. Neyther do these Indians ever eat their Maiz made into bread but at this Feast and at another called Citua; then eating two or three bits at the beginning of the meale; their ordinary meales in stead of bread have çara parched or boyled in graine. The Virgins of the Sunne prepare this bread for the Inca, and those of his bloud; for the rest, innumerable other women are appointed, which make it with Religious care. [IV. vii. 1473.]

Bread festival.

In the morning early the Inca goeth accompanied with all his kindred, ranked according to their age and dignitie, to the chiefe street of the Citie called Haucapata: and there expect the Sunne rising, all barefooted, looking to the East with great attention; as soone as he peepes forth, fall on their elbowes (which is as kneeling here) adoring him with their armes open, and their hands before their faces, giving kisses to the ayre (as in Spaine it is the use to kisse a mans owne hand, or the Princes garment) so acknowledging him their God. The Curacas set themselves in another street next thereto, called Cussipata, and make the same adoration. After this the King riseth on his feet, others remaning on their elbowes, and taketh two great vessels of Gold full of drinke, the one in his right hand, as in the name and steed of the Sunne, as if he did drinke to his kindred (this was their greatest courtesie of the Superior to the Inferior, and amongst friends, to give them drinke) and powres it into a pipe of Gold, by which it runneth into the house of the Sunne. After this he drinketh part of that in his left hand, giving the rest to the Incas in a small Cup, or out of the same vessell (this sanctifying or giving vertue to all

Adoration of the rising Sun.

Festivall and consecrated Drinke.

that is brought forth) every man drinking a draught. The Curacas drinke of that which the women of the Sunne have made. This done, they went all in order to the House of the Sunne, and two hundred paces before they came at the doore, they put off their shooes; only the King stayed till hee came at the doore. Then the Inca and his entred in and adored the Image of the Sunne, as naturall Sonnes. The Curacas abode in the street before the Temple. The Inca offered with his owne hands the vessels in which he had done that ceremony; the other Incas gave their vessels to the Priests (for they which were not Priests, might not doe the Priestly office, although they were of the bloud.) The Priests having received the Incas offered vessels, went forth to receive those of the Curacas which brought them in order of their antiquity, as they had bin subject to the Empire; they gave also other things of Gold and Silver, with Sheep, Lizards, Toads, Snakes, Foxes, Tigres, Lions, variety of Birds, and whatsoever most abounded in their Countries. The offerings ended, they returned to their streets in order. Then the Incas Priests, bring forth great store of Lambes, barren Ewes and Rams of all colours (for sheep in those parts are of al colours, as Horses in these) all being the Cattle of the Sun. They take a black Lambe (which they esteeme the holiest colour for Sacrifices and the Kings weare commonly black) and offer that first for Soothsaying (a thing used by them in all things of moment in peace and warre, looking into the heart and lungs for prognostications) they set the head to the East, not tying any of his feet, open him alive (being holden by three or foure Indians) and that on the left side, to take out his heart and entrals with their hands, without cutting. The best Augury was if the lungs mooved when they were taken forth: the worst, if the Sacrifice in the opening arose on the feet overcomming those which held it. If one prooved unluckie, they assayed another of a Ram, and another of a barren Ewe; if all prooved unlucky they gave over

Procession bare-foot.

Oblations.

Strange Offerings.

Sacrifices and Auguries.

Black fairest.

Soothsaying usuall.

Rites thereof.

keeping the Feast, and said the Sunne was angry for some fault which they had done, and expected wars, Dearth, Murrayne, &c. After this Augury, they opened not the other Sacrifices alive but cut off their heads, offering the bloud and heart to the Sun.

Holy fire.

The fire which they used must bee new, given them, as they said by the hands of the Sunne, which they did by the force of the Sunne beames shining thorow a Jewell which the High Priest held in his hand (as by a burning Glasse) on Cotton. With this fire they burned the Sacrifice and rosted that dayes flesh: and carried thereof to the Temple of the Sunne, and to the house of Virgins to keepe all the yeere. And if the Sunne did not shine, they made fire with motion of two smooth round stickes: but this absence or refusall of the Sunne they esteemed unlucky. All the flesh of those Sacrifices was rosted openly in the two streets aforesaid; they parted it amongst the Incas, Curacas, and common people which were at the Feast, giving it with the bread çancu. After this they had many other Viands: and when they had done eating they fell to drinking, in which vice they exceeded, though now the Spaniards example have that way done good, and this vice is infamous amongst them. The Inca sitting in state sends his Kinsmen to the principall in his name to make them drinke, first the valorous Captaynes, next the Curacas which have not bin Commanders in war, then to Cozco-Incas by priviledge: the manner was this; the Inca which brought the drinke said, the Capa Inca sends thee banketting drinke, and I come in his name to drinke with thee. The Captaine or Curaca tooke the Cup with great reverence and lifted up his eyes to the Sunne, as giving him thankes for such a favour, and having drunke, returned the Cup to the Inca with shew of adoration, not speaking one word. Hee sends to the Captaines in generall; but to some speciall Curacas only; the rest, the Incas in their owne name, and not in the Kings, cause to drinke. The Cups were holden in great veneration because the Capa Inca had

Festival eating and drinking.

touched them with his hands and lips. After this beginning they fell to freer drinking one to another, and after that to dancing, the Feast continuing nine dayes with great jollity, but the Sacrifices held but the first: and after they returned to their Countries.

Manner of making Knights.

Now for their Knights, till they had that order, they were not capeable of the dignities of warre or peace. The youths of the Royall bloud (for none else might be in election) from sixteene yeeres old upwards, first made experiments of themselves in rigorous tryals, whether they could indure the hard Adventures of warre. Every yeere, or each other yeere, these noble youths were shut up in a house where old Masters examined them. They were to fast seven dayes strictly, with a little raw Corne and water, to try their endurance of hunger and thirst. Their Parents and brethren also fasted for them to intreate the Sunne to favour them. They which could not sustaine this fast, were rejected as unsufficient. After this they heartned them with meate, and tryed their activitie in running of a certaine Race a league and halfe long, where was a Banner set, which he that first came at was Captaine of the rest: others also to the tenth were subordinately honoured. Their next tryall was in skirmish, one halfe to keepe, the other to get a Fort; and they which were now keepers, were another day besiegers, where eagernesse and emulation sometimes cost some their lives in that ludicrous warre. Then followed wrestling betwixt equals, leaping, throwing small and great stones, also a Launce and a Dart, and other Armes, shooting, casting with a sling, and exercise in all weapons of warre. They caused them to watch ten or twelve nights as Centinels, comming suddenly on them at uncertaine houres, shaming those which they found sleeping. They tryed with wands how they could indure stripes, beating them cruelly on the armes and legs (where the Indians goe bare) and if they made any sad remonstrance of sorrow they rejected them, saying how would they beare their enemies weapons? They were to bee in

manner unsensible. A Fencer also made semblance with a two hand Club called Macana, another while with a Pike, to hit or strike them, and if they shrugged, or in their eyes or body made shew of feare, they were rejected. Next they made triall whether they had skill to make their armes of all sorts, and shooes called Usuta, like those which the Franciscans weare.

After all these, the Captaines and Masters of these Ceremonies tell them of their pedigree from the Sunne, the noble Acts of their Ancestors, and instruct them in courage, clemency and mildenesse to the poore, with other parts of morality. The Heire apparant indured no lesse rigorous tryals then others, except in running for the Banner, and all that tryall time (which was from one New Moone to another) he went in poore and vile habit to teach him to pity the poore. These things done, the King solemnly attended, made a Speech to them, and each on their knees received at his hand the first Ensigne of dignity, which was to boare a hole in their eares.

The New Knight kissed his hand, and the next person to the Inca put off his Usutas, and put him on gallant shooes of Wooll. Then did he goe to another place, where other Incas put him on breeches, as the token of manhood, which before he might not weare: after which they put on his head two kinds of flowres, and a leafe of another herbe which will long keepe greene. No other men might weare those flowres. The Prince had the same Ensignes, and differed only in his yellow fringe of Wooll (which none but he, and that first after his tryall, might weare) and an Axe of Armes with a kinde of Javeline above a yard long; which when they put in his hand, they said Aucunapac, that is, for tyrant Traytors. The Kings fringe was coloured; he ware besides on his head two feathers of a Bird called Corequenque, which are said to bee but a Male and a Female, in one place only called Villacanuta. These they weare upon their fringe: and every new Successor must have new. When the

Prince is Knighted all of the bloud Royall adore him as their Prince.

The seventh Booke. Inca Yupanqui the tenth Inca.

INca Yupanqui bestowed three yeeres in visiting his Kingdome, and afterwards resolved on a difficult designe, namely to passe the Antis Eastward from Cozco, that having traversed those high Hils, he might find passage by some Rivers running thence Eastward: for the Hils themselves still covered with Snow falne and falling were impassable; mooved by a tradition of many Habitations and Countries in those parts. One of which

The Musus invaded.

was called Musu (by the Spaniards, Moxos) to which he might enter by a River in the Antis divided into five, which all make the River Amarumayu; which I suspect to fall into the River of Plate, the greatest River knowne after Orellana. With this determination he sent to cut a great quantity of that stuffe which the Spaniards call Higuera, wherein they spent two yeeres, making thereof a kind of Boats, so many as received ten thousand Souldiers with their provisions, each holding thirtie, fortie, fiftie more or lesse, with their provisions in the midst. Thus went they downe the River, and had great encounter with

The Chunchus subdued.

the Chanchu which lived on both sides the River, all painted and naked with feathers on their heads, armed with Bowes and Arrowes. They were reduced to subjection, and sent presents of Poppenjayes, Monkies and Huacamayas, Waxe and Honey, which they continued till the death of Tupac Amara the last of the Incas, whom the Vice-roy Francis de Toledo beheaded.

A Colonie of these was planted neere Tono, some sixe and twenty leagues from Cozco. They proceeded in their Conquest till they came at Musu two hundred leagues from Cozco. These hearing their Relations of the Incas conquests and devotions, and Viracochas vision, were content to accept of their friendship, and confederacie, but not to acknowledge vassallage. They permitted them to make a plantation there, and gave them their Daughters for Wives, being now not above a thousand

[IV. vii. 1475.]

left, the rest wasted in the ill wayes and warres. They sent an Embassage also to Cozco which were well entertained and instructed in all their Rites. These Peruans would have returned into their Countrey about the time of Huayna Capacs death, but hearing of the Spanish conquest, stayed. *Peruan Colony in the Musus Countrie.*

Anno 1564. one Diego Aleman a Spaniard hearing of Gold in those parts, with twelve others went on foote with an Indian Curaca for his guide (the ill wayes admitted no Horses) and having travelled into the Musus Countrey after eight and twentie dayes, were set upon and tenne Spaniards killed, Diego himselfe taken, and two only escaped in the darknesse of the night. The Indians made Diego their Captaine (of a Captive) against their enemies. About this Golden prize the Spaniards after fell into contention, divers having gotten the grant, and many were slaine by their emulous Competitors, and so made an easie prey to the Chunchus. Three they took and after two yeeres dismissed them. One of them was a Frier and Priest whom they requested at his departure to send for their conversion which was not done. But let us returne to Inca Yupanqui. *Spanish attempts frustrate.*

After this Expedition to the Musus, hee resolved on the Conquest of the great Province Chirihuana, which is upon the Antis Eastward from Charcas. And because the Countrey was unknowne, he sent Spies which brought word that it was a wretched Countrey, wilde Mountaynes, miry Marishes, Lakes and Bogs, unprofitable for Seed and Husbandry, and the Naturals brutish worse then beasts without Religion or worship of any thing, without Law, Townes, or Houses, and eating mans flesh, hunting to that end the Neighbour Provinces, and drinking their bloud, without difference of sexe or age; eating also their owne when they dyed, and when they had eaten their flesh, they layd the bones together and mourned for them, burying those Relikes in Rockes or hollow Trees. They were clothed in skinnes, and *Chirihuana.* *A Savage beastly Nation.*

abstayned not from sisters, mothers, daughters. Good Inca Yupanqui (so they used to call him) hearing this, said they were more bound to the Conquest, to the end to civilize them; for therefore our Father the Sun hath sent us.

Invasions of the Incas and Spaniards frustrate.

Hee sent tenne thousand men which spent two yeeres, and returned without having effected their Designe by reason of the ill condition of the Countrey. Neyther had the Vice-roy Don Francis de Toledo any better successe in the like attempt. Anno 1572. in which by reason of the badnesse of the wayes unpassable for Mules, his Litter was carried on mens shoulders, whom the Chirihuanas followed with cryes threatning to eate them. Such terrour they cause to the borderers, that an hundred of them will flee from ten: yet this little conversation with those which the Inca sent, instructed them to leave eating their dead friends, and to dwell in houses in common.

Chili discovered.

The good King Inca Yupanqui after this, proceeded to another purpose of conquering Chili, and from Atacama sent Spies to discover it, and the difficulty of the wayes; which passed the Deserts and left markes in the way lest they should loose it at their returne, there beeing eighty leagues of Wildernesse from Atacama to Copayapu, which is a little Province well peopled, from which to Cuquimpu are other eightie leagues unpeopled. These having given advice to the Inca, he sent ten thousand men of warre under the command of Sinchiruca with provisions necessary; and after them sent ten thousand others both to succour them, and to terrifie the enemy. When words would not perswade the men of Copayapu to receive the command of the Lord of the foure parts of the World, they came to skirmishes and after to composition, upon the comming of the second Army. The Inca hereupon levied other ten thousand, and sent them to follow the former which marched eighty leagues, and after many troubles came to another Valley or Province called Cuquimpu, which

Subdued.

they subdued. And so proceeded conquering all the Nations which are till you come to the Valley of Chili, whereof that whole Kingdome takes the name. This exploit was sixe yeeres in hand, the Inca still sending fresh supplies of men and provisions of armes, clothes and other necessaries, so that he had fiftie thousand men of warre in Chili. They went fifty leagues further Southward to the River of Maulli, stil using faire meanes rather then crueltie to reduce them. And thus the Empire was advanced above two hundred and sixty leagues beyond Atacama: yet ambition looking further, they passed the River Maulli with twenty thousand men. Three dayes they fought cruelly till halfe of both sides were slaine: the three dayes following they were content to sit still in expectation, and after that departed from each other without further accomplishment. Maulli was now the Southerne boundarie, and the Inca having intelligence sent them word rather to cultivate and order what they had gotten then to seeke new conquests. Thus they fortified the Frontiers and attended the administration of Justice, and building Houses for the Sunne and the King.

Battle at Purumaucu.

Diego de Almagro was the first Spaniard which discovered Chili, but having purchased nothing but the sight and innumerable troubles in the way, he returned to Peru, which was the cause of the generall Rebellion of the Indians of Peru, and of the discords and Civill warres of the Spaniards. Pedro de Valdivia, made the next Discoverie, and happily conquered them, but as unhappily was put to death by the Araucans his vassals, after hee had raised his profits to a hundred thousand Pezos yeerely, which yet did but enlarge his appetite. The Araucans had assembled twelve or thirteene thousand, notwithstanding which numbers Valdivia still had the better, by reason of the Horsemen, ten of which would breake thorow a thousand Indians, which therefore would not deale with the Spaniards in the Plaines but kept the Hils. A certaine old Captaine hearing hereof, would

Spanish acts in Chili. [IV. vii. 1476.]

Almagros Discovery.

P. de Valdivia.

An old Chili Captaine his policie, whereby Arauco hath beaten the Spaniards.

needs goe thither to see what that Military mysterie might be, that one hundred and fiftie men should hold under so many thousands. He called a Councell, and asked if the Spaniards were mortall and made of flesh, subject to humane infirmities of wearinesse and sleepe; and likewise of their Horses; which being affirmed, hee taught them another course of battle, dividing all their thousands into so many bands single, each of which should fight, and doe what they could, and when they were wearie should convay themselves away, and give place to another Regiment; meanewhile to recollect themselves into their ranke againe, and to refresh themselves: so likewise should the second and third and all of them doe in their order. Thus they fought and fled, and still seemed to the Spaniards both broken and whole, they having often broken the bands, which yet kept still neere the number which they had at first. This troubled them, their bodies and horses yeelding to wearinesse by long continuance from morning till afternoone: and then Valdivia commanded his men that they should recoyle by degrees, making a defensive warre till they might recover certayne Straits, where they might easily by the strength of the place bee defended. This was heard by one Philip a Chili Servant of the Governours (by his Indian name, Lautram) who fled to his Countrimen, and told them this his Masters intent. Whereupon they sent some Regiments to make good that place, so that about Sunne-set the Spaniards thinking to secure themselves there, came to the Sunne-set and irrecoverable night of their Fates. The Governour and a Frier were taken, the rest slaine: three Indians fled and carried newes of this disaster. Valdivias death is diversly told; some say that that Philip killed him, some that another Captayne did it with a Clubbe whiles others by his promises were wonne to give him libertie. Francis de Rieros which then was a Captayne in Chili, from the reports of Indians, tels that the Chilois made dances all night, at the end of each dance cutting off a piece of the flesh

Philip betrayeth his Master.

Others say, they powred molten gold downe his throate.

Later accidents in Peru and Chili.

of both their Prisoners and eating it before their faces. Notwithstanding they doe not ordinarily eate mans flesh. This was Anno 1553. and ever since the Rebellion hath continued: at which time Don Sebastian rebelled in Potosi and Francis Hernandes Giron in Cozco, Rebellions later then those of the Pizarrists and Almagrists.

Prodigious showres of sand & ashes 1600.

I might adde to these affaires of Chili, the great Earth-quakes, A. 1600. in Peru, at Arequepa, the rayning of sand, as also of ashes about twenty dayes from a Vulcan breaking forth; the ashes falling in places above a yard thicke, in some places more then two, and where left above a quarter of a yard, which buried the Corne-grounds of Maiz and Wheat, and the boughes of Trees were broken and fruitlesse, and the Cattle great and small dyed for want of pasture. For the sand which rained covered the fields thirty leagues one way, and above forty another way round about Arequepa. They found their Kine dead by five hundred together in severall Heards, and whole Flockes of Sheepe and Heards of Goates and Swine buried. Houses fell with the weight of the sand, others cost much industry to save them. Mighty Thunders and Lightnings were heard and seene thirty leagues about Arequepa. It was so darke whiles those showres lasted that at midday they burned Candles to see to doe their businesse.

They tell also of fearefull Earthquakes at Arequepa 1582. See sup. p. 940.

941.

A Letter written by a Citizen of Iago in Chili.

This from Peru: from Chili they write that the Rebellion of Arauco groweth every day stronger. On Wednesday the foure and twentieth of November 1599. there came in the morning upon the citie of Valdivia, about five thousand Indians of the bordering places, and of the places adjoyning to Imperiall, Pica, and Putem, three thousand horsmen and the rest foot; seventy of them Harcabuse men, and two hundred in coates* of Maile (Cotas.) They came unperceived, having set double Espials on the citie. They came in Squadrons ranked in order; for they knew that the Spaniards were asleepe, and had but foure men in their Corps de gard,

**Note the Araucans armes gotten from the Spaniards.*

and to walke the round. They were blinded with their fortune some twentie dayes before having beaten the Indians from their Fort in Vega, and the Marishes of Paparlen, slaying many that for eight leagues about no Indian durst be seene. Thus entred they the streets of that unhappy citie, and fired the houses; then tooke the gates, and in two houres space with fire and Sword destroyed the Towne, and wanne the Fort and Artillery, killing foure hundred Spaniards of both Sexes; sacked three hundred thousand Pezos of spoile, consuming all the rest. The shippes of Vallano, Villaroell, and another of Diego de Roias, were at anchor in the River, and if some had not escaped in Canoas to carry them newes, they had runne the like fortune. The Spaniards severity a little before made them thus cruell, having sold so many of their wives and children for slaves to Merchants, which carried them out of their Countries, being baptized, and having kept Priests fiftie yeeres. Now first, they destroyed the Churches, and brake the Images in pieces. Ten dayes after Coronel Francisco del Campo, came with three hundred men sent from his Excellency from Peru, to succour those Cities. Having seene this lamentable destruction, he went to succour Osorno, and Villarrica, and sad Ymperiall, of which hee knew nothing but that it had beene besieged a yeere by the enemies, having nothing to eat but dead Horses, Cats, Dogges, and Hides. But first he succoured Osorno, to which the victorious enemies had gone from Valdivia. Newes came at the same time, whiles I was writing, that those of Ymperiall were dead with famine, all save twentie whom hunger forced to a worse destinie, to goe to the Indians. Lord have mercy on us. Amen. March 1600. from Saint Iago.

Valdivia destroyed.

[IV. vii. 1477.]

Ymperiall famished.

Another letter 1601.

Father Diego de Alcobaza (whom I have before mentioned) writ to me, Anno 1601. that the Indians were growne of such dexteritie in warres, that every Indian on horsebacke with his Lance, durst sally out

Indians valour.

on any Spanish Souldier, were he never so valiant: and every yeere many goe from Peru thither but none returne. They have sacked two Townes, and killed all they found in them, carrying away the women and daughters and servants: and lastly, they killed in an Emboscada the Governour Loyola, which was married to a daughter of Don Diego Sayritupac the Inca, which went from Villacapampa, before your Worship went to those parts. God have mercy on the dead, and give remedie to the living. Other things he writ so irkesome, that I forbeare to recite, as of the plagues of Arequepa, one of which was that Wheate was worth that yeere ten or eleven Ducats, and Maiz thirteene. Anno 1602. the disasters of Arequepa, continued as the Jesuites have written. Anno 1604. Padre Maestro Francisco de Castro gave mee this further Relation of Chili. Of thirteene Cities which are in this Realme of Chili, the Indians have destroyed sixe, viz. Valdivia, Imperiall, Angol, Sancta Cruz, Chillan and Conception. They wasted and consumed therein, the Houses, Churches, Devotion, Beautie of the fields; and yet the greatest misery is, that the Indians have gathered heart and courage for greater spoyles and destructions of Cities and Monasteries. They have bent their minds to mischiefe and cunning stratagems. They besieged the Citie Osorno, and consuming the Spanish forces, they retired to a Fort in which they have held them as it were in a continuall siege, the besieged sustayning themselves with seeds and herbes. In one of the sieges which that Citie sustained, they broke the Images: in the last they killed the Centinels, and safely entred and seised the Fort, the Spaniards not perceiving, and whiles they were busie in spoyle, the Spaniards came on them, and got from them the women and Nuns. The last Victory of the Indians, was the taking of Villarrica, with great slaughter of Spaniards, firing it in foure parts. They killed all the Friers of Saint Domingo, Saint Francis, and our Lady of Pitie, and the Clergie men:

Governour Loyola slaine.

Dearth.

1604.

Sixe Townes destroyed.

Osorno Fort taken.

Villarrica taken.

they captived all the women which were many, and of a good account.

Now let us returne to the Inca Yupanqui, who now determined to ceasse further invading and conquest, His Realme now extending a thousand leagues. He made many Fortresses and Temples to the Sunne, and Nunneries, and Royall Palaces, and Conveyances of water. Especially hee bestowed paines on the Fortresse of Cozco, for which his Father had brought great store of stones. He visited his Kingdome to see with his eyes the necessities thereof that he might remedie them, which he did with such care, that he merited the surname of Pious. After which hee dyed full of Trophees, having enlarged his Empire so farre to the South, and a hundred and forty leagues Northwards.

Yupanqui Inca his acts and death.

Fortresse of Cozco a rare worke.

Tupac Inqua Yupanqui his eldest Sonne succeeded. The Fortresse of Cozco which hee built may seeme a worke of Devils rather then men, the stones (or Rockes rather) in three circuits about being so many and great, the Indians having neither Iron nor Steele to cut or worke them, nor Oxen, nor Carts to draw them, but all done with force of men with great Cables, and that thorow uneven wayes in rough Mountains. Many of them they brought ten, twelve, fifteen leagues, particularly that stone which the Indians call Saycusca, that is, wearied, which was brought fifteene leagues, and passed the River Yucay little lesse then Guadalquivir at Corduba. The most came from Muyna, five leagues off. Many of them are so close, that scarsly the place where they are joyned can be discerned, which required the lifting up and often setling one stone upon another, having neyther Square, nor Rule. Nor could they make Cranes or any sort of Engine to helpe them. It seemes that the Incas thought hereby to expresse their magnificence and power, and the skill of their workmen. This Fortresse was built on a Hill on the Northside of the Citie, so steepe that way that it could not bee assaulted, and there-

See sup. 1056. *Acostas Relation.*

fore one wall served on that side two hundred fathomes long. They had no morter but used a kind of coloured clay faster then it. On the other parts they made three wals one before another, each above two hundred fathomes, in forme of a halfe Moone; there were stones in them, but such as were admirably great. A Priest of Montilla having beene in Peru and seene them, told me that hee could not imagine how they could be laid but by the blacke Art. And indeed this in respect of the want of Art may bee said to exceed the seven Wonders of the World: for it is easie to conceive how the Pyramides of Egypt and wals of Babylon might be made, which here is not. Every wall in the midst had one gate which had one stone elevated the breadth and height thereof. Betwixt one wall and another was about thirty foot: the battlements were above a yard high. The height I cannot exactly tell. Within those wals were three strong Forts, the middlemost called Moyoc Marca, or the round Fort, in which was a Conduit of good water brought farre off under ground, the Indians knew not whence: it was knowne only to the Inca and some chiefe Councellors. In this the Kings remained when they went to visit the Fortresse, and the wals were all adorned with gold and silver and counterfeits of beasts, and birds, and plants, enchased therein, which served for Tapestry. The second Fort was called Paucar Marca, the third, Sacllac Marca, both square, with Roomes for Souldiers which must be Incas of priviledge, for no other Nation might enter, it being the house of the Sunne for warre, as Temples were for Prayer. The Captaine was of the bloud Royall legitimate. They had under earth passages from one Fort to another very artificiall with Labyrintian windings and turnings inextricable but by a Thread. When I was a Boy I often saw the ruines thereof, but none of us durst enter the Vaults further then wee had Sun-light.

The wonders of the world not so wonderfull as Cozco Fortresse.

One round Fort and two square.

[IV. vii. 1478.]

House of the Sun for warre.

Labyrinth.

The whole worke was of stone, some polished, some

rude. They had to draw the great Stone Saycusca twenty thousand Indians with Cables, one halfe before, the other behind; in one uneven passage it killed three or foure thousand Indians. They call it wearied, because they were wearie and never layd it in the building. The Architect was Callacunczuy. The *Spanish acts.* Spaniards not only doe not repaire the Fortresse, but pull it downe to build their private houses, every of their houses in the Citie beeing therewith adorned. In such manner have they cast so great Majesty to the ground. The three wals stand because they cannot ruine them for their greatnesse, yet some part they demolished to seeke the Chaine of gold which Huayna Capac made. This Inca beganne this Fortresse which continued fiftie yeeres before it was finished.

The eighth Booke. Tupac Inca Yupanqui the 11. King of Peru.

THe Great Tupac Inca Yupanqui (his name Tupac signifieth Resplendent or Illustrious, for such were his Acts) after the accomplishment of solemnities concerning his Fathers Funerals, and his owne Coronation, which consumed one yeere; visited his Kingdome, the better to know and to be knowne of his Subjects, and for better execution of Justice by his Officers and Judges, in which he spent foure yeeres. This done, he levied forty thousand Souldiers to proceed in the course of his Fathers, which palliated their ambition of Sovereigntie and Dominion, with reducing men from Barbarisme and beastiality to Civility and Religion. He marched to *Cassamarca.* Cassamarca, and entred the Province of Chachapuya. Eastwards from Cassamarca, a Countrey of valiant men and very faire women. They worshipped Snakes, and the bird Cuntur was their principall God. It then contayned above fortie thousand Families. Their chiefe Armes were slings, and they wore a kinde of sling-net for their head tyre (hee cals both by the name honda.) Beyond them are the Huacrachuca a fierce and warly Nation, which weare on their head a blacke leash of Wooll with white flyes here and there, and for a feather

a piece of a Deeres horne: these worshipped in those times Snakes, and kept them pictured in their Temples and houses. These lay in the way to the former, and much bloud was lost in fight on both sides; whereupon the Inca, after their ancient custome, sought to reduce them by faire meanes, intimating that hee came more to doe them good as they had done to other Nations, suffering the Curacas to rule still; then to rule over them, seeking no more but that they should worship the Sunne, and leave their barbarousnesse. He divided his Armie, and sent some to take the most commodious places, so that they were forced to seeke peace. He stayed there, the Countrey being rainy, till the next Summer, and sent for twenty thousand men more, instructing the Huacrachucus meane while in his devotions and Lawes, and to convay away the waters, and make the grounds fit for seed to their great benefit. *Huacrachucus subdued.*

The next Summer hee entred the Province Chachapuya, where notwithstanding the wonted gentle message he was incountred with a cruell warre. This Province was fiftie leagues long, and twenty broad, reaching to Muyupampa, which is thirtie leagues long. The Hils were craggie, and in places very steepe and snowie; three hundred which he sent to spie, were drowned in the snow, not one escaping. The prowesse and numbers of the Inca brought all by degrees to subjection, Pias, Charmac cassa (an open passage of the snowie Hill, very dangerous where the three hundred were lost) Cuntur Marca, Cassa Marquilla, all Mountaynous and craggie places, till hee came to Raymipampa, so called of a Feast which he solemnized there to the Sunne in his Campe, being a faire Valley; and thence to Muyupampa, where Ancohualla entred as is before said in Viracochas time, rather then he would bee a subject to the Inca; these and Cascuyunca now yeelded. The next Summer hee marched on to Huancapampa, a great Nation, but divided amongst themselves, naked and warring not for wealth but women, worshipping *Chachapuya.* *Muyupampa.* *Raymipampa.* *Huancapampa.*

Birds, Beasts, Plants, every one as himselfe pleased. These he tamed by hunger (starving such as came not in) and gave them Masters to instruct them in husbandry, and how to clothe themselves, to water their fields, and to plant Townes, so that it became one of the best Provinces in Peru. More to ennoble it, hee after built there a Temple and house of Virgins, prohibiting the eating of mans flesh, and gave them Priests and men learned in the Lawes to instruct them. Afterwards he added three great Provinces, Cassa Ayahuaca and Callua to his Signory, which lived civilly, having Townes and Fortresses, and a kind of Republike or free State, having their meetings and choice of Governours. These Conquests ended, he spent long time in visiting his Kingdom, and building Temples, Nunneries, Store-houses, Aquæducts, especially taking care of the Fortresse at Cozco.

Three civill Provinces subdued.

Some yeeres this way spent, hee marched Northward to Huanucu, which containeth many disunited Nations, whom he easily conquered, and planted Townes there, being a fertile Countrie, and temperate, making it the chiefe Province of many others in those Confines. He built there a Temple for the Sunne, and a house of chosen Virgins, twenty thousand Indians performing services in course to those two houses. He went next to the Province Cannari, which ware their haire long, tied on a knot in the Crowne. By these head-tires in the time of the Incas, each Indian was knowne of what Nation he was; which in my time they continued, but now they say all is confounded. These Cannaris before this worshipped the Moone as chiefe Deity, and great Trees and Stones in the second place; but now were brought to the Incas Sunne religion, and their Countrie ennobled with a Temple, Nunnerie, Palaces, Water-passages, &c. The Nation Quillacu is belowe the Cannari, the most miserable of Nations, neither having good land, nor aire, nor water, whence grew a Proverbe applied to covetous misers, hee is a very Quillacu: on

Huanacu or Guanaco.

[IV. vii. 1479.]

Pedro de Cieça saith 30000. *c.* 80. *he calls it Guanuco, and saith, there was a Royall house very admirable of great stones cunningly placed: neere to which was the Temple, &c.*

Cannari.

Quillacu.

these the Inca imposed a tribute of Lice, that so they might learne to be cleanly. Tupac Inca Yupanqui and his sonne Huayna Capac much ennobled those Provinces of the Cannaris, and of Tumipampa, with building Royall houses, adorning the Lodgings in stead of Tapestry with counterfeits of Herbs, Plants and Creatures of gold and silver, the Porches chased with Gold and inlayed with Emeralds and Turquesses: a Temple also of the Sunne enchased with Gold and Silver, the Indians custome being to make ostentation of service to their Kings, and to flatter them filling their Temples and Palaces with all the treasures they were able (in Pots, Pannes, and other vessels of gold and silver and much costly raiment.) Having returned to Cozco, his ambition not long after brought him backe to Tumipampa, where he gained many Provinces unto the confines of the Kingdome of Quitu, viz. Chanchan Moca, Quesna, Pumallacta, (that is, the Land of Lions, by reason of the store there, being also worshipped for Gods) Ticzampi, Tiv cassa, Capampi, Urcollasu and Tincuracu, barren and barbarous Regions, which he sent Masters to teach Civilitie and Religion. After that, he made another expedition with fortie thousand men to Quitu, the name of the Kingdome and King. It is seventy leagues long and thirtie broad, fertile and rich. They worshipped Deere, and great Trees.

Louse-tribute.

Cieça cap. 44. p. 1. calls it Thomebamba, and is large in this point.

See Cieça c. 46.

Quitu.

The warre continuing long, he sent for his sonne Huayna Capac to come with twelve thousand men more to exercise him in warre. Huayna Capac signifieth from a childe rich in magnanimous exploits. Capac was a title given to things of greatest eminence. And this seemed præeminent in him that he never denied any woman any sute, using to them gentle compellations of Mother, Sister, Daughter, according to their age, &c. Tupac Inca returned to Cozco, and left his sonne to dispatch the warre, which was three yeeres before Quitu was reduced, beside two yeeres which his father spent: the reason whereof was the Incas custome to gaine not

Huayna Capacs bounty to women.

by fire and sword, but as they could make the Natives forsake it; which had this effect, that their conquest was more durable, and their vassals bare them better affection.

Quitu subdued. At the end of those five yeeres the King of Quitu died, and the people subjected them to Huayna Capac, which

Quillacena. used them gently. He passed on to Quillacenca, that is, Iron-nose Province (so called for their boring the nostrils, and wearing Jewels thereat) a vile, brutish, lousy People, without Religion, eating any carion. They were easily subjected, as likewise the next Province of like condition Pastu, and Otauallu a People more civill and warlike, and Caranque a barbarous Nation which worshipped Tigres, and Lions, and great Snakes, in their Sacrifices offering the hearts and bloud of men which they overcame in warre: these he civillized also.

Tupac Inca was busie in his Fortresse at Cozco, keeping twenty thousand men at worke therein with great order and emulation of each Nation to exceed other. Huayna Capac returning, was received with great triumph: and because he had no children by his eldest

Huayna Capacs marriages. Sister Pillcu Huaco, he was secondly married to his second Sister Rana Ocllo, the Incas still using that marriage in imitation of Manco Capac, and for certainty of the bloud on both sides. King Tupac, and his Councell ordained that both should be lawfull Wives, and holden for Queenes, and not for Concubins. Hee married also Mama Rucu, his Uncle Amara Tupacs eldest daughter the next in bloud to the former, having no third Sister of whole bloud. By Rana Ocllo he had Huascar Inca; and by his Cousin-german, Manco Inca.

Tupa Incas death and progenie. Tupac Inca drawing neere to death called together his children (which were above two hundred) and made the wonted discourse or Testament, commending peace and justice and care of their vassals to them, and to shew themselves indeed the children of the Sunne: recommending to the Prince, the reducing and conquest of the Savages to the service of the Sunne, and a politike life, and to follow the example of his Fore-fathers, and to

chastise the Huallcavilcas which had slaine his Captaines in rebellion. Hee said he was now going to another life, his father the Sunne calling him to rest with him. Thus died Tupac Inca, famous for the benefits done to his Countrie, therefore called Tupac Yaya, Illustrious Father. By Mama Ocllo he had sixe sonnes; the eldest, Huàyna Capac: the second, Auqui Amaru Tupac Inca; the third, Quehuar Tupac; the fourth, Huallpa Tupac Inca Yupanqui (my mothers grandfather;) the fifth, Titu Inca Rimachi; the sixth, Auqui Mayta. They embalmed his body which I saw Anno 1559. as if it had beene alive. The rest of this eighth Booke the Authour has spent in description of the creatures of principall note of those parts, in which out of Acosta, and others having beene tedious already, we will not here trouble the Reader.

THe mighty Huayna Capac, after other things set in order, having a sonne (Huascar) borne, for whom he made twenty dayes feast; began to propound great and rare devises to himselfe. One was a Chaine of gold, much sought but never seene by the Spaniards. The Indians use much dancing, and are as easily distinguished one Nation from another by their dances, as by their head-tires. The Incas had a grave kinde of dancing in measures, men alone without women, hand in hand, singing in their soft paces, three hundred or more in a solemne feast, the Inca himselfe sometimes dancing with them: at other times they danced about, still comming neerer to that Royall centre. This holding of hands in a ring gave occasion to make the golden Chaine, that they might dance by it without touching hands, as I have heard the fore-mentioned old Inca, (my mothers Uncle) discourse. Hee told mee that it contained the length and bredth of the great street of Cozco, which is seven hundred foot, and the bignesse of every linke thereof was (he said) as bigge as his wrest. Augustin de Zarate calls it Maroma, a Cable, from the report of Indians then living, and sayth, it was as much as two hundred Indians

[IV. vii. 1480.] *The ninth Booke. Huayna Capac the twelfth.*

A gold chaine of incredible length and greatnesse.

could lift. Much have the Spaniards sought for this and other treasures, whereof they could never finde any foot-print. Prince Yuti Cusi Huallpa (that was his name before, and signifieth Huallpa the Sunne of rejoycing) was in memorie of that which was made to honour his birth called Huascar, an r added to Huasca (which signifieth a Rope, their Language not differencing a Chaine from a Rope) by which addition Huascar might be without signification, and avoyde the ill sound of a Rope, which was added to his former name at his waining and polling Feast, when hee was two yeeres old. After that hee levied fortie thousand Souldiers, and went to Quitu, in which Voyage hee tooke for his Concubine the eldest daughter of King Quitu aforesaid, which was there kept in the House of the chosen, or Nunnerie; and by her had Atahuallpa, and other children.

Huascar as Roper.

Atahuallpas mother.

Further conquests. Vallies in the Plaines subdued.

Thence he went to the Plaines, and made conquest of the Valley of Chimu (now Trugillo) and Chacma, Pacasmayn, Canna, Collque, Cintu, Tucmi, Sayanca, Mutupi, Puchiu Sallana, bestowing much cost to convey water, and benefit his new conquests. After some time spent at Quitu, hee levied another Armie of fifty thousand, and conquered Tumpiz (a vicious, luxurious People, and Sodomiticall, which adored Tigres and Lions, and sacrificed the hearts and bloud of Men) and Chunana Chintuy, Collonche, and other confining places. Hee made a faire Fortresse in Tumpiz, and set there a Garrison: he built a House of the Sunne, and another of Virgins: and after that entred into the Province Huancavillca, which had killed those Masters which his Father Tupac Inca Yupanqui had sent to instruct them. Hee commanded all the Curacas to come before him, which durst doe no other, with all the chiefe men, to whom one of the Masters of the Campe made a Speech of their treason and bad demerits: Notwithstanding the Inca using his naturall clemency, and making account of his title Huacchacuyac (The benefactor or lover of the poore) both pardoned all the common people, and would so farre remit the better

Tumpiz or Tumbez subdued.

Huancavilca punished.

Huacchacuyac a title of the Incas.

sort which had beene doers in that businesse, that though all had deserved death, yet one onely of tenne whom the lot should designe to execution, should die: and of the Curacas, and Captaines, each should lose two teeth in the upper jaw, and as many in the lower, both they and their descendants, in memorie of falsifying their promise to his father. They which feared that all should passe the sword were content, and the whole Nation would needs both men and women participate in that tooth-losse, and did likewise to their sonnes and daughters, as if it had beene a favour. One of that Nation I knew in my fathers house at Cozco, which largely recounted the premisses. *Tooth-rite.*

The Inca spent much time in visiting his Kingdome from Quitu to Charcas, above seven hundred leagues, and sent Visitors to Chili, whence his father had drawne much Gold. This done, he raised an Armie of fifty thousand men of the Northerne Provinces, and having visited the Temple of Pachacamac, and caused the Priests to consult with the Oracle, which promised prosperitie to his designes, and the like at Rimac; hee passed thorow those Vallies to Tumpiz, and sent to the Iland Puna, twelve leagues in compasse, the Lord whereof was called Tampalla, a man which kept many women and boyes for his lust; besides the Sea, their common Deitie, they worship Tigres and Lions, and sacrificed the heart and bloud of Men. These received the Incas commands, but after killed and threw overboord his men as they were conveying them to the Continent, and sacrificing some of them, which the Inca severely revenged, both on them, and on their confederates in the Continent, and commanded them to keepe the memorie of that dismall execution in mournfull songs; enjoyning them to obey his Governour which kept the Fortresse of Tumpiz. From Tumpiz he proceeded in visitation of his Kingdome to the Chichas, with intent to doe the like in the Southerne part, and sent Presents fine garments to the Governours, Curacas, Captaines and *I. Puna. subjected.* *Their treason.* *Drerysongs.*

Royall Officers, according to the custome of the Incas. *Chachapuyas rebellion and pardon.* But hearing that the Chachapuyas were in rebellion (to whom hee sent Messengers, which received ill usage and answers) he made a Bridge, and marched over the River, and came to Cassa marquilla, with purpose to destroy them.

The people not being able to hold out, fled into the Mountaines, and others most wisely knowing his gentle disposition, procured a Matron of their Countrie, which had beene Concubine to Tupac Inca Yupanqui to meet him with a multitude of feminine supplicants, which so well played her pitifull part in a perswasive speech [IV. vii. 1481.] seconded with cries and lamentations of that chorus of women, that the Inca relented, taking her up from the ground, called her Mamanchic (our mother) granted her request, and gave her commission to make an end of the businesse, sending some unarmed Incas with her *Thankfulnesse.* to that purpose. The Chachapuyas in remembrance of this fact encompassed the place where shee had met the Inca, with three walls, not permitting the foot of man or beast to touch so holy ground: the uttermost wall of clay, the second of stone unpolished, the inmost of polished stone, which the covetousnesse of the Spaniards overthrew, as they did other the best buildings, to search for treasure.

Manta. Puerto Vieco. Their foolish devotions. Huayna Capac went to Manta (in which Countrie stands the Port which the Spaniards call Puerto Vieio) which worshipped the Sea and Fishes, Tigres, Lions, and great Snakes, and amongst other things a great Emerald, which they say, was little lesse then an Estriches egge. In their greater Feasts they shewed it publikely; the Indians came from farre to adore it, and sacrifice to it, and to present it with small Emeralds, as daughters to the mother; the Priests and Cacike, telling them that this was the most agreeable offering. Thus were many Emeralds gathered here together, where Don Pedro de Alvarado and his companions (one of which was my father Garcilasso de la Vega) found them in

the conquest of Peru, and brake most of them on an Anvill, saying (like bad Lapidaries) that if they were precious stones they would not breake with the greatest blowes, and if they brake they were but Glasse. But their goddesse-Emerald the Indians had conveyed away before, neither could it since be found by any industrie. The people of Manta were open and shamelesse Sodomites, and in their marriages the Bridegrooms kinsmen and friends had first hansell of the Spouse. They flayed the Captives which they tooke in Warre, and filled the skinnes with ashes, and hanged them up at the doores of their Temples, and in their feasting and dancing places. These with the Apichiqui, Pichunsti, Sava, and other Nations confining on the Coast, he subjected. These were more brutish then the Mantans, and not onely raced their faces with stones, but deformed their children with laying one boord on the fore-head, and another in the necke, so keeping them in presse from day to day, till they were foure or five yeeres old, to make them broad-faced, shaving away the haire of the crowne and necke, and letting it growe on the sides, making it curle and bush out to more monstrositie.

Emerald-goddesse a huge gemme.

Platter-faced.

From these he went to Saramissu and Passau, under the Equinoctiall Line, where they worshipped nothing at all, and had neither Towne nor House, but lived in hollow Trees, went naked, used women in common, neither did their lusts stay there; had their faces quartered into foure coloures, yellow, azure, particoloured and blacke, their haire, long, curled and full of filth, (I saw them with mine eyes when I came for Spaine) and are the savagest people that can bee imagined. Huayna Capac would none of them, but said, let us returne, for those are not worthie to have us to be their Lord. The Indians have a tradition that at the Point of Saint Elena there came in Boats of Rushes, huge Giants higher then common men from the knees upwards, their eyes as bigge as Saucers, and other

Barbarous people.

Giants. See sup. in Acosta. pag. 1002. *&c.*

members proportionable; they had no women with them, and were clothed in beasts skinnes, or naked. They setled themselves there, and digged Wells admirably deepe in the Rocke, yeelding very coole water. One of them did eate more then fiftie men; and were forced to get fish for their diet. They killed the women of the Countrie in using them; were great Sodomites, and were therefore at last by fire from Heaven consumed, leaving onely some bones of them as memorials, which have beene, and still are there found. Anno 1550. there were as great bones found at Mexico. In this Point of Saint Elena, neere to Puerto Vicio, are certaine Fountaines of pitchie substance fit to calke ships, boiling out very hot.

Bituminous Springs.

Reverence to the Sunne.

Huayna Capac one Raymi or Feast day of the Sunne, looked up to the Sunne, which the high Priest, one of his Uncles, told him was unlawfull. But soone after hee looked up againe, and againe was reproved by the Priest: but he answered, Answere mee to these questions; I am your Lord, and which of you dares bid mee rise and goe a long Journey? None, said he, would bee so mad. And if any the greatest Curaca be commanded by me to goe from hence to Chili, will he not doe it? The Priest answered, that none would disobey him in any thing. Why then I say (said the Inca) that our Father the Sunne must needs have a greater and mightier Lord then himselfe, which commands him every day to take such a Journey: for if he were a superiour Lord, he would some time or other rest himselfe. The Caranques rebelled and were severely chastised, and 2000.* of them beheaded in a Lake, and therefore called Yahuarcocha, or Sea of bloud. After this, with much griefe that he was forced to such sharpe medicines, he went to Quitu, and finding his Sonne Atahuallpa, wittie, wise, warlike, and comely of personage (as usually were the Incas and Pallas) hee much affected him, and still would have him about him, and so handled the matter, that with consent of his Brother

Wise apophthegme. See sup. 1028.

Caranques rebell. Cieça saith 20000. *perhaps including all which were slaine in the warre.*

A.D. c. 1580.

Huascar, he set him in possession of the Kingdome of Quitu, and other Provinces, giving him experimented Captaines and part of his Armie, the better to secure himselfe, and to pacifie the unsettled new-gained Provinces in his Fathers life time, to that end transplanting Nations from one Region to another.

Atahuallpa put in possession of Quitu, and other Provinces subdued by his father.

Huayna Capac made two famous Royall wayes, the one alongst the Hills within Land, the other by the Sea-side. From Cozco to Quitu are five hundred leagues by the Sierras, rockie and craggie way, which hee made plaine, breaking downe the high, and exalting the lowe places sometimes fifteene or twenty stades or mans heights, that a Cart might have gone on them till the wars of the Indians and Christians much endammaged them. By the Plaines he made another of lesse difficultie, making mud-wals to hold in the way, forty foote broade with a high causie both in the Vallies, and in the sands, driving stakes therein to know the way which is there so moveable and changeable, the like space of 500. leagues.

[IV. vii. 1482.]

High-way workes greater then the worlds seven wonders or Annibals Alpe-way.

Busied in these affaires and great workes he had newes of the Spaniards (those which Basco Nunez de Balboa first discoverer of the South Sea, had sent upon discovery 1515. who, as before is said, imposed the name Peru) which filled him with wonder and care. Hee lived after this in peace eight yeares, and dyed Anno 1523. having raigned two and fortie yeares, not minding the prosecuting of further conquests after he had heard of the Spanish Ship, by reason of a Prophesie or ancient Oracle which the Incas had, that after so many Kings a strange Nation should come and destroy their Kingdome and Idolatry. Three yeares before that Ship was seene, as they were celebrating the Sunnes festivall solemnity, an Eagle Royall, which they call Anca, pursued five or sixe kistrels and as many small haukes, which set upon the Eagle and beate her, so that having no way to escape, she fell in the market place amongst the Incas, as seeking helpe at their hands.

Spanish Ship. Prophesies and Prodigies foresignifying the losse of the Incas Empire.

They tooke her and did what they could to relieve her; but within few dayes she died; an augurie seeming to presage some disaster to that state. There were also greater earthquakes then the ordinary (to which Peru is usually subject) and the Sea often swelled over the shores; the aire no lesse terrified them with comets. The Moone in a cleere night had three circles round about her very great, one of bloud, the middlemost blacke, the utmost of smoake. Llayca a diviner told the Inca; Onely Lord, know that thy mother the Moone adviseth thee that Pachacamac threatneth the royall bloud, and to send great plagues on thine Empire; the first circle signifying the bloudy warre which shall follow when thou art gone to rest with thy Father the Sunne, betwixt thy posteritie, that in few yeares it shall altogether faile: the second shewes the destruction of our Religion and republique and alienation of thy Empire, which shall turne all into smoake as is signified by the third circle. Inca was troubled, but put it off saying, thou hast dreamed these fooleries last night, and saist my Mother hath sent me such intelligence. But the Soothsayer answered, he might see it with his owne eyes, and consult with other diviners, which he did, and found the same sight and answere; hee yet made seemings not to beleeve, saying hee did not beleeve the Sunne would permit that to happen to his progenie. He offered notwithstanding many Sacrifices to him, and appointed the Soothsayers in all parts to consult with their severall Oracles, especially with Pachacamac and Rimac, whose answers were obscure and doubtfull. These things I heard of two Captaines of Huayna Capacs guard, then eightie yeares old, and baptised, speaking hereof with teares, Don Juan Pechuta, and Chauca Rimachi, as also of Cusihuallpa that old Inca, and of my Mother and her Brother Don Fernando Huallpa Tupac Inca.

Llayca a diviner.

Huayna Capacs sicknesse and last will, or speech before his death.

Huayna Capac one day bathing himselfe came forth cold, and found himselfe deadly sicke, made a testa-

mentall discourse, saying, that he was now going to heaven to rest with his Father the Sunne, which called him out of the bath, ever since which time he was so indisposed of body: when I am dead you shall burie my body as is used to be done with Royall bodies, my heart and entrals in Quitu, in token of the love which I beare it; my body you shall carrie to Cozco to lay it with my ancestors. I commend you to my Son Atahuallpa whom I so much love, who remaineth for Inca in my place in this Kingdome of Quitu, and in all the rest which he shall conquer by armes to augment his Empire. And for you the Captaines of my armie, I charge you in particular to serve him with that fealty and love which you owe to your King, in all and every thing doing what he shall command you, which shall be the same that I shall reveale to him by order of our Father the Sunne. I likewise commend unto you justice and clemencie towards the Vassals, that the Title of Lover of the poore given unto us, be not lost; and that in every thing you doe like the Incas, Sonnes of the Sunne. Having made this speech to his children and kinsmen, he called the rest of the Captains and Curacas which were not of the bloud royall and gave them in charge fealty and service due to their King, and at last concluded: It is many yeares since that by revelation of our father the Sunne, we hold that when twelve Kings are passed of his Sonnes, there shall come a new and unknowne people into those parts, and shall gaine and subject to their Empire all our Kingdomes and many others. I suspect that they shall be of those whom we know to have gone alongst the coast of our Sea: they shall be a valiant Nation which every way shall exceede you. We well know that in mee is compleat the number of twelve Incas. I certifie you that a few yeares after my departure from you, that new Nation shall come and fulfill that which our Father the Sunne hath spoken, and shall gaine our Empire and rule over it. I command you that yee

The Prophesie of the Incas Empire.

obey and serve them as men which every way shall have advantage of you: whose Law shall be better then ours, and their armes more mightie and invincible then yours. I leave you in peace, for I goe to rest with my Father the Sunne which cals mee.

Cusihuallpa his comment on that speech.

All this the Indians held in great veneration, and fulfilled every jot thereof. I remember that one day that old Inca speaking in presence of my Mother, and rehearsing these things, and the Spaniards entrance, and their conquest: I asked him how, their Countrey being so rough, their people so warlike, and their number so many, they lost their Empire to so few Spaniards. He answering me, repeated the foretelling or prophesie of the Spaniards aforesaid, and said that the Inca had commanded them to obey and serve them, for every way they should have the advantage of them. And for that objection of cowardise, he answered me. These words which our Inca said unto us, being the last that ever he spake to us, were more powerfull to subject us and quiet our Empire, then the Armes which thy Father and his companions brought into this Land.

[IV. vii. 1483.]

Huayna Capacs death.

Thus died Huayna Capac; his body was embalmed, and carried to Cozco; his heart interred in Quitu. His funerall solemnities and mourning continued a yeare, according to the custome of the Inca Kings. Hee left above two hundred sonnes and daughters; some Incas affirme above three hundred to exaggerate the crueltie of Atahuallpa, which slew them almost all: who therefore was so odious, that the Spaniards having put him to death, were thought men sent from their God the Sun to take vengeance on the destroyer of his seede. And when they brought Cockes and Hens with them into Peru, they hearing the Cockes crowing said, that in perpetuall infamie of that tyrant and abhominable memory of his name, they pronounced it in their crowing, saying Atahuallpa, and would answer the Cockes crowing with reckoning the name Atahuallpa: wherein the children imitated them in those times, so

Indians hate to Atahuallpa for causes following.

Cock conceit, whereby it appeareth that they had no Cocks before in Peru.

that if they had heard a Cocke crowe, they would recrow in like tune the name of Atahuallpa: a thing which I my selfe and other boyes my Schoolefellowes, children of Spaniards by Indian women have often done, together with the Indian children. They named likewise on such occasion his principall Captains, whose names were of so many syllables, Challcuchima, Quilliscacha and Ruminnaui. The Spaniards thought they did this for his honour, saying the Cockes made this honorable mention of him: so Blas Valera writeth, which received it of the Indians of Quitu his naturall subjects, which applied to a good mention that which those of Cozco devised in evill, for his cruelties there done.

Huascar the thirteenth, and last Inca Emperour.

Huayna Capac being dead, his two Sonnes Huascar and Atahuallpa raigned quietly for the space of foure or five yeares, one in Cozco, the other in Quitu. After which Huascar began to thinke with himselfe that he had done ill in consenting to his father in the matter of Quitu, which now was his brothers; whereby he was barred up also from further conquests; the other three waies being locked up by the Antis, the Sea and Chili; so that his brother might by new conquests make himselfe greater then he: and whereas now his stile was Capa Inca (onely Lord) in time, the other might both equall and exceede him. These things more and more troubling him, hee sent a Messenger to his brother, saying; that by the ancient constitution of the first Inca Manco Capac, the Kingdome of Quitu, and all the Provinces which he possessed, belonged to the crowne and Empire of Cozco, which howsoever he had quitted to him upon his Fathers command, yet was it more by force then justice, being to the losse of the crowne and prejudice of the successors; and therefore neither ought his Father to command it, nor was he obliged to fulfill it. Yet seeing he had given consent, he was content upon these two conditions; first that he should adde nothing to his Empire; secondly, that hee should doe him homage and fealtie, as his vassall and feudatarie

Huascars message to Atahuallpa.

His answer and pretended humilitie.

Atahuallpa received this message with great humilitie and seeming submission, and three dayes after returned answere, that in his heart he had alwayes reknowledged vassallage; being returned to the Inca by Post, he was much content, sending reply, that he againe confirmed that estate to his Brother conditionally, that by such a time he should make his personall homage at Cozco. Atahuallpa answered hee was a happy man to understand such the Incas pleasure, that he would doe it by the time set him; but for greater solemnitie, he did beseech his Majestie to give him leave that all the Provinces of his estate should come with him to celebrate in Cozco the obsequies of Huayna Capac his Father, with rites agreeable to those of Quitu and the other Provinces, which ended, hee and his would doe their due homage.

Atahuallpa levieth forces to assault Huascar under pretence of obsequies to Huayna Capac.

All this did Huascar grant, and Atahuallpa made use of to his project of soveraigntie. He sent proclamation to all his Provinces, that all men serviceable should in such a space make ready to goe to Cozco to celebrate his Fathers obsequies, and to performe the homage to the Monarch Huascar Inca, and that therefore they should set forth in their best ornaments and bravery for greater solemnitie. But privily he sent to his Captaines to levie the best Souldiers which should carry their armes closely; for he more minded executions then exequies. He commanded them to march in bands, five or sixe hundred together, one band two or three leagues after the other: and when they came within ten or twelve dayes journey of Cozco, that they should joyne together, the last doubling their journies to overtake the former. In this manner Atahuallpa sent above 30000. men, most of them old Soldiers of his Fathers, with choise Captaines, and appointed two Camp-masters or Generals, Challcuchima and Quizquiz. Huascar relying on the loyaltie of his Subjects, and his Brothers faire promises, not onely suspected no treason, but provided them necessaries. Atahuallpa used this dissimulation, knowing himselfe of unsufficient power to

Huascars securitie.

warre openly on his brother. But some of the experimented Governors and Captaines, as they passed, could not but resent and disgust this course; and signified so much to the Inca, who thus awakened out of his dreame, sent to gather forces in South parts and East and West: to Chinchasuyu he sent not, which were the best Soldiers, because of these forces marching thorow their Countrie. The other through long peace were unaccustomed to armes, of which were levied above 30000. the rest being too remote for a sudden businesse.

Serò medicina paratur.

Atahuallpas men passed the River Apurimac without contradiction, and embattelled themselves in three squadrons, so marching to Villacunca within six leagues of Cozco. He himselfe abode still in the confines of his Kingdome, there to observe the successe of this battel, wherein he placed his chiefe trust, by reason of the negligence of the other side, and the courage of his old souldiers. These thought the shortest way the surest, before more forces might be assembled by Huascar, and within two or three leagues Westwards from the Citie was the battell fought, in which one side fought to get, the other to keepe the Inca, whose unhappy fate made him prisoner to Atahuallpas men as he was fleeing thence with 5000. which were all in manner slaine in presence, some by the enemies, some by themselves seeing their Lord prisoner. Many also not willing to enjoy liberty after he was taken, offered themselves prisoners. They set a sure guard about the Emperours person, and sent to proclaime his taking thorow all the Empire, lest other forces should come to his succour; sending word also to their Master Atahuallpa. Hee used his victory most cruelly; for dissembling that he would restore Huascar to the Kingdom, he summoned all the Incas in the Empire, and all the Rulers and Officers to appeare at Cusco by such a day, to capitulate on certaine Articles to be observed betwixt the two Kings, that they might live together in love like brethren. Thus all the Incas,

[IV. vii. 1484.]

The battell betwixt Atahuallpas men and Huascar.

Huascar taken.

Atahuallpas cruelty and dissimulation.

except those whom sicknesse, age, or remotenesse hindred, came thither, whom Atahuallpa caused to be put to divers and cruell deaths.

Ill conscience, fearefull, and therefore tyrannically cruell.

For he knowing that he was not of the Incas bloud legitimate, that is, by the Coya or sister of the King, nor yet of the whole bloud, so to challenge the inheritance by Father and Mother, removed these rubs out of the way of his ambition; yea all those who were of the halfe bloud, though further from claime, yet lest they might imitate his example, he caused also to be slaine. Not contenting himselfe with the death of his two hundred brethren and sisters, the children of Huayna Capac, he proceeded to the Uncles, Cousens, and all, whether legitimate or bastards: some he caused to be beheaded, some hanged, some were cast into Rivers with weights at their neckes, some cast from high precipices. All which were done before he had passed Sausa, nintie leagues off the Citie. Yea they brought forth Huascar to see these dismall executions, that he might dye in the death of every of his kinsmen. The Curacas Captaines and Nobility they brought forth being the rest of the prisoners bound, to the Valley of Sacsahuana, and made a long lane of them, thorow which they made poore Huascar to passe covered with mourning weedes, and having a roape about his necke: they seeing their Inca in this case, fell downe with cries to doe him reverence, and were therefore slaine with Hatchets and Clubs before his face. After this the cruelty passed to the women and children of the bloud royall, Atahuallpa commanding to take them all (but those in the house of Virgins) which were brought to the field Yahuarpampa, or bloudie field, a name confirmed by the cruell executions, by starving, hanging, and diversified tortures on that tender sexe, and innocent age. Every quarter of the Moone they renewed these cruelties, from which some were yet suffered to escape, of which number were my Mother and her Brother then eleven yeares of age or under,

See of it in Viracocha.

which they sent away in disguised habits of the common people; for all degrees might they be knowne by their habit.

A Catalogue of the posterity of the Incas.

Of the Auquis or Infants Royall which escaped, were Paullu and Titu the Sonnes of Huayna Capac. Don Carlos the sonne of Paullu, married with a Spanish woman, by whom hee had Don Melchior Inca, which in the yeare 1602. came into Spaine to receive rewards promised for the services of his Father and Grandfather in the pacification of Peru, Anno 1604. I received a letter of Valladolid that he was allowed 7500. Duckets of revenue in the Citie of Kings, and that he must bring his wife to Spaine, that the Indians which are his inheritance shall be set over to the Crowne, and that he shall no more passe to the Indies. This is the chiefe of the bloud of the Incas, by the male line descended of Huayna Capac. Of Atahuallpa I knew one Sonne and two Daughters, one of which Donna Angelina by Marquesse Piçarro had a Sonne called Don Francisco, he died a little before I came to Spaine: the next day before his buriall many Incas came to my Mothers, and amongst others her old Uncle, who said that Pachacamac had preserved him many yeares to see an end of all his enemies; and instead of mourning much, rejoyced; whereof I demanded the reason why we should be glad for the death of our Kinsman? he biting his mantle (which with them is a token of great anger) said, What, wouldst thou be the kinsman of an Auca, sonne of an Auca (that is, a tyrant traitor) which destroyed our Empire, killed our Inca, consumed our bloud and linage, which did so many cruelties so differing from the nature of the Incas? I could eate him raw without sauce now he is dead: for his Father the traitor Atahuallpa was not the son of Huayna Capac our Inca, but sonne of Quitu Indian, which with his mother wrought treason to our King; otherwise he would never have done, no not imagined such things to his enemies, much lesse to his kindred; say not

Don Melchior next in bloud kept in Spaine.

Atahuallpas son and second daughters.

His whole posterity wasted.

therefore, he is our kinsman, thou wrongst thy kindred to reckon to it so cruell a tyrant, &c. This Francisco whiles he lived, seeing the hatred which the Incas, and all other Indians bare him, had little to doe with them, and came little abroad, they still calling him Auca. His father destroyed the Officers and Servants of the Kings house, and the Townes whereof they were, being by Manco Inca priviledged Incas, of some a third, of others a fifth or a tenth part. Hee named also and committed great mischiefes on the Cannaries, & slew 70000. of them, because they would not subject themselves to him at the beginning of his rising, whereby there were said to remaine fifteene times as many women as men.

Hatred of the Incas and Indians to Atahuallpas Sonne.

[IV. vii. 1485.] In the end of the yeare 1603. the Incas of Peru writ to Don Melchior Carlos Inca, and to me, in all their names desiring us to make supplication to his Majestie, to command that they should be exempted from tributes which they paid, and other vexations which they suffer no lesse then other common Indians. They sent painted in white Chia taffata the Tree royall from Manco Capac to Huaina Capacs sonne Paullu, in their ancient habit, with the coloured ribbon of their heads, and eare-rings in their eares, with Partisans instead of Scepters in their hands. Their phrase was much mixt with Spanish, for now they are all Spaniolized. They rehearse much miseries of their life, for which cause I doe not here record it. They write with much confidence that the King would not onely relieve them, if he were made acquainted, but reward them, as the posterity of Kings. At the side of every Kings picture they set those of his posteritie, with the title Capac Ayllu, or the Royall stocke, distinguishing each Kings descendents. Of Manco Capacs posterity there remaine 40. Incas: of Sinchi Roca 64. of Lloque Yupanqui 63. of Capac Yupanqui 56. of Mayta Capac 35. of Inca Roca 50. of Yahuar Huacac 51. of Viracocha Inca 69. of Pachacutec and his Sonne Yupanqui put together 99. of Tupac Inca Yupanqui 18. of Huayna Capac 22.

Miserable state of the Incas in Peru.

Tree Royall of Incas and their posteritie living in April 1603.

These two last generations (as neerer the Crowne) Atahuallpa with great diligence destroyed. The whole summe is 567. persons, all descended by the male line; for of the female they made no such account, except they were Sonnes of the Spaniards which conquered the Land; for those they call Incas also, beleeving that they descended of their god the Sunne. This writing was signed by eleven Incas, agreeing to the eleven descents, each for all of his race.

Chap. XIIII.

The suppliment of the History of the Incas, briefely collected out of the Authors second part, or Generall History of Peru.

THus have we run thorow the Authors first part, or Commentaries Roiall, of the originall and lives of the Incas. In his second part, entituled the Generall History of Peru, he relates the Spanish Acts, Discoveries, and conquests there; part of which in Benzo, Vaz, and others ye have seene already, and the Spanish Authors have related the same at large. I will briefely touch a few things to perfect this our story of the Incas. In the taking of Atahuallpa he relateth at large the Oration of Frier Vincent de valle viridi. First, touching God, his creation of the world, and of man. Secondly, Touching Adams sinne and Christs redemption on the Crosse. Thirdly, his power given to the Apostles, and over them and all Christians to Peter and his successor the Pope. Fourthly, the Popes gift of all those Countries to the Emperour, Lord of the world, to the end to bring them to the Christian faith. Fifthly, the Emperours authorising Francis Pizarro as his Embassador and Lieutenant, that those Realmes might receive that benefit, and that he might begin alliance and confederacie betwixt the Emperours Majestie and the Inca, in such sort that his

Friar Vincents speech to Atahuallpa.

Note the latter part of this Friers Oration: for which cause I have inserted it at large.

whole Kingdome should become tributarie, and the Inca become his subject and wholly deliver up his Kingdome and renounce the administration thereof, as other Kings and Lords have done. Secondly, after such peace and friendship, and subjection voluntary or by force, hee was to give obedience to the Pope, and receive the faith of Christ, quite abandoning his superstition of Idols, invented by the Divell. All which, O King, thou art to take well in worth as being very profitable to thee and thine: and if thou deniest, know that thou shalt be compelled by warre, fire and bloodshed, and all thine Idols shall bee throwne downe to the ground. And we will constraine thee with the Sword, that leaving thy false Religion whether thou wilt or no, thou shalt receive our Catholike Faith and pay Tribute to the Emperour giving up thy Kingdome to him. But if thou shalt obstinately resist, know for most certaine, God will suffer, as of old Pharao and all his Army perished in the Red Sea, that thou likewise and thine Indians shall bee destroyed by our Armes.

Strange Preaching of Christianitie.

This Oration was kept by the tradition of Quipus (or Quippos) which are the knot-records of Cassamarca where the deede was done: the words of trinity and other Christian Mysteries were not well understood, and therefore ill delivered by the Interpreter: that language still wanting proper tearmes for them, and being forced to Indianize Spanish words for that purpose. Atahuallpas answere was, with great griefe for those last words, of Pharao and destruction, saying, Atac (an interjection of sorrow) and first complained of his Interpreter, and that this minacing message was contrary to the former which they had sent him; that their Prince and they might seeme tyrants so to goe about destroying the world, killing and robbing those which had done them no wrong: or else that they might seeme the servants of Pachacamac which had sent them to their destruction; which if it be so, he and his were ready to offer themselves to whatsoever pleased them, not

Atahuallpas answer.

for fear of their minaces or armes, but to fulfil his father Huayna Capacs command at the houre of his death, that they should serve a bearded Nation more valiant then they, which was to come and bring them a better [IV. vii. Law and Customes. But if this bee so, Pachacamac is 1486.] pitifull and mercifull, whom they ought to imitate, and not to beginne with robberies and cruelties as they had done in Tumpiz, and the confines. It seemed strange, he said, to him, that the Emperour should bee Lord of the World, and yet the Pope should make him a new grant; and then also is the Pope greater then he, and Lord of the world. Againe hee had shewed no reason why hee should pay tribute onely to Charles; which rather hee thought was due to God, as Creator, or to Adam the first man, or to Christ the best man, or to the Pope which hath power to give his Kingdome and person to another, of all which he in his speech had discoursed. And if he had any right over him, it had beene meet, first to have signified it to him, before menacing of warre, fire, and slaughter, &c. The Spaniards impatient of this long discourse fell to rising the Indians, others to robbing an Idoll Temple of the Silver plates; and comming forth to fight, the Indians raised a great shout. But the Inca with a great voice commanded that they should not smite nor hurt the Spaniards, though they tooke or killed the King. Frier Vincent made a plausible Speech to the Spaniards, in favour of the Indians; but they could not heare him for the crie: neither did the King cast the Booke on the ground, or the Frier crie vengeance*, as some have written, with other things against the Pope, and the death of Christ. Five thousand Indians were slaine, and no Spaniards hurt, but the Generall by one of his owne, slightly, in the taking of Atahuallpa. When he had agreed on his ransome, which was never wholly paid, for want of time to accomplish it*: (4605670. Duckets of it came in) Soto and Barco were lent to Cozco, which at Sausa in the way had sight of Huascar,

Easie victorie and cruell Spaniards which kill so many not resisting.

**So they which were there, and Gomara, Benzo, Herera, &c. but the later Inquisitors seem ashamed of Vincents furie.*

**See contra. cap. ult.*

there kept prisoner; who by signes desired aide of the Spaniards to restore him to his Empire, promising three times as much as Atahuallpa had done, better able to performe it, as having and knowing where to fetch the treasures of his progenitors: whereas Atahuallpa had little treasure but what he tooke from Churches. They answered, that they must first goe to Cozco whither they were sent: and in the meane time Atahuallpa had intelligence of these passages. Hee subtilly to sound the Spaniards, how they would take the death of his brother, fained himselfe very sorrowfull for that hee had heard one of his Captaines had killed him, and refused to eate, making shew of much griefe. Pizarro comforted him, and promised to right and revenge the evill on him which had done it. He seeing that Pizarro tooke it in no worse part, sent a speedy Post to dispatch him so suddenly, that the Spaniards could not tell but that it had beene done before. His owne death followed after (as before is recited, and Huascar at his death foretold) by the unjust justice of the Spaniards, many of which protested by word and writing against that cruelty, in vaine. His corps were carried to Quitu to be interred, where under pretence of more honourable Obsequies, Ruminnavi one of his Captaines (following his examples) wrought a great treason; made a feast to Quilliscacha brother of Atahuallpa, and other great men, whom having made drunke unawares with the drinke Sora, a heady liquour forbidden by Law, hee slue, with Challcuchima the Generall, and the Sonnes and Daughters of Atahuallpa, and all that might stand in the way of his ambition. Hee buried alive the Chosen Virgins, which smiled at his reports of the Spaniards (interpreting it to lust, being done rather to please him) causing to undermine and cut the Hills to execute that dismall fate more terribly. After some bickerings with the Spaniards, hee fled to the Antis, and there perished miserably.

Huascars promises to the Spaniards.

Huascar slaine.

Atahuallpa slaine.

Ruminnavis cruelties.

Manco Inca. Manco Inca Brother of Huascar, came to the Spaniards at Cozco, to demand the repossession of the Empire, by

A.D. c. 1580.

inheritance due to him. They made him faire semblance: and he offered to promote the Gospell (according to his Fathers testament, as a better Law) and the Spanish affaires. Articles were agreed on, and they granted him a Diadem with great solemnitie, but so farre short of the wonted, that the old men cried as fast for the want of that, as the yong boyes shouted for joy of this. When afterwards he propounded the accomplishment of those Articles which had beene made betwixt the Spaniards and the Indians, that the Naturals might live in quiet, and knowe what service to performe to the Spaniards, with the reall restitution of his Empire: the Governour Pizarro, and his brethren excused themselves by the broyles and stirres which had growne amongst themselves, which hitherto permitted not the accomplishment. They further expected answer from the Emperor their Lord, of whom he might hope for al good, (the Articles being good for both parts) to whom they had given account of the capitulations, his brother Hernando being shortly to returne with answere. But when he was arrived at Tumpiz, the Marquesse tooke occasion to rid himselfe of the Incas importunitie, and with many faire words intreated him to returne to his Fortresse till things might be perfected: which he doing, they held him there Prisoner, fearing his haughty courage. The Indians seeing their Inca Prisoner, were much grieved, but he comforted them, saying, that he and they ought to obey the Spaniards, for so Huayna Capac had commanded in his Testament, and that they should not be weary till they had seene the last issue of these things. Hee hoped that this his imprisonment would turne into greater liberalitie with him, these Viracochas being a Nation comne from Heaven.

The Incas began and ended with Manco; as the Empire of Rome with Augustus and Augustulus, and of Constantinople with two Constantines.

Manco imprisoned.

The Marquesse dismissed himselfe of the Inca, whose person and guard hee commended to his brethren Juan and Gonzalo, and went to the Citie of Kings, to people and enlarge it. The Inca Manco with much obsequiousnesse to all the Spaniards, and many presents of Gold,

Mancos enlargement and taking Armes.

Silver, Gemmes, Fruits, &c. making no shew of griefe for his imprisonment, obtayned his libertie; which he had laboured the rather, hearing that Hernando Pizarro was comming to governe in Cozco. Hee gate leave to goe to Yucay, which was the Garden of the Kings, to which place he summoned his Captaines, and complained of the Spaniards breach of promise, in not performing the Capitulations which they had made with Titu Autauchi, his brother, and that they had laid him in prison with Iron fetters: that he had perceived their ill mindes from the beginning, but suffered it to justifie his cause with God and with the world, that none might object to him the disturbing of the peace. But now he could no further relie on their vaine promises, well knowing that the Spaniards shared the Land amongst themselves in Cusco, Rimac, and Tumpiz, whereby it well appeared that they intended not the restitution of the Empire to him: and that he was loth to make further triall of their fetters, and therefore required their best advice, intending with Armes to recover his right, trusting in Pachacamac, and his father the Sun, that they would not herein forsake him. They told him, that he might looke for like reward at the hands of those strangers as Atahuallpa had found, notwithstanding the payment of his ransome: and it was Pachacamacs great grace, they had not dealt with his Royall Person likewise, &c.

An Armie of 200000. Indians. Cozco burnt.

Thus Manco raised forces, so that 200000. Indians came to Cozco, and shot Arrowes with fire on them on all the houses of the Citie generally, without respect of the Royall houses, only they reserved the Temple of the Sunne, with the Chappels within it, and the house of the Virgins: which two they spared (though their wealth was gone) not to commit any sacrilegious act against their Religion. Three Hals also they reserved wherein to make their feasts in time of raine, one of which was in the house that had belonged to the first Inca, Manco Capac. (The author proceedes in the particular fights and seege of the Spaniards, too long here to

rehearse.) In divers places they killed seven hundred Spaniards. But at last Manco was driven to forsake the Countrey [b] by the inequality of the Spaniards horses, Guns and other offensive and defensive armes, against which they had no experiments to make resistance. In the civill-uncivill broiles and warres of the Spaniards in Peru, some of them fled to Manco Inca to avoide the Viceroies severity, one of which was Gomez Perez a cholericke man, which playing at Bowles with the Inca, would stand so stiffely on measuring of his cast, and the earnest folly of play, that forgetting all good manners, he one day used the Inca as if he had beene an Indian slave; wherewith the Inca provoked gave him a blow with his fist on the breast, whereupon Gomez with his Bowle strooke the Inca on the head so great a blowe, that hee fell downe dead. Whereupon the Indians set on the Spaniards, which first fled into the house to defend themselves there, but were fired out; and the Indians having killed them with enraged furie, had purposed to eate up their flesh raw: but after left them to the birds and wilde beasts, for foode. Thus died Manco by the hands of those whom hee had preserved from death, and had kindly used in those wilde Mountaines of Villca campa, which hee had chosen for his securitie. I was present, when some Incas present at the act, with teares recounted this to my Mother, which came afterwards from these Mountaines with the Inca Sayri Tupac, the sonne of that unfortunate Prince, by order of the Vice-roy Mendoza, Marquesse of Canete. This Vice-roy used (to perswade that comming in of the Inca) the Ladie Beatriz his Fathers Sister, which so wrought with his Guard, hee being then too young to take the Diademe, that upon promise of certaine conditions hee came and rendred himselfe to the Vice-roy, and after went to Cusco, and was baptised by the name of Don Diego, together with his wife Cusci Huarcay, grand-childe to Huascar Inca, Anno 1558. Shee was a faire woman, but somewhat pale, as are all the women of

[b] *When Alimagro returned out of Chili and Alvarado with other Spaniards came in.*

Gomez an ungrateful proud Spaniard.

Manco Inca slaine.

Sayri Tupac his sonne.

that Countrie, about sixteene yeeres olde. I went in my mothers name to visite the Inca, and to kisse his hand, which used mee courteously, and two small vessels of gilt Plate were brought forth, of which he dranke one, I the other. He spent his time, one day visiting one part, and another, another part of the Citie. Hee adored the Sacrament, calling it Pachacamac, Pachacamac. He went thence to the Valley of Yucay, and there remayned till his death, which was about three yeeres after, leaving no issue but a daughter, which was married to Martin Garcia de Loyola. His brother Tupac Amaru tooke the Mountaines.

Tupac Amaru his tragedie.

Francisco de Toledo second sonne to the Earle of Oropesa, being Vice-roy, determined to bring from the Mountaines of Villca campa the Prince Tupac Amaru, the lawfull Heire of that Empire, after his said brothers death without issue male. Hee sought to doe it by faire and gentle perswasions sending Messengers to that purpose, promising him maintenance from his Majestie for his person and familie. His kindred and friends told him that his brother had received small recompense from them, or society with them, and therefore counselled him not to goe, it being better for him to live there, then to die with his enemies. The Spaniards counselled the Vice-roy to force him, alledging that his Indians robbed the Merchants, hoping also by his imprisonment to recover the treasures* which his progenitours had hidden. Such robberies were indeed committed in his father Mancos time, but seldome, they being forced thereto of necessitie for want of victuals, which the Mountaines yeeld not. But after his death there was no such matter. The Vice-roy sent Martin Garcia Loyola, with two hundred and fiftie Souldiers well provided against the Inca. The strength of those passages was abated, and the wayes plained after the issue of Sayri Tupac, so that the Prince Tupac Amaru fled, and the Spaniards pursued, and hee being guilty to himselfe of no crime, yeelded himselfe with his wife,

**Hinc illæ lacryma.*

[IV. vii. 1488.]

two sonnes and a daughter, and all his Indians, looking for no ill measure, but maintenance at their hands.

Bloudy Vice-roy.

The Vice-roy framed a processe against the Prince, and against all the Incas of his kindred, and against the Mestizos begotten of that stocke by the Spaniards, some of which were condemned to be tortured, that so they might finde some clearer matter against them. One of their mothers came to the prison, and cried out that they had got that reward, for that their Fathers had conquered the Countrey, for which their Children should be all hanged. Why did they not as well kill their Mothers, for whose sinnes Pachacamac had suffered this, which had beene traytors to the Inca for love of the Spaniards; with other outcries of vengeance in this world, and the next from Gods hand. Thus went shee crying in the street, which made the Vice-roy surcease his purpose, & he proceeded not to put any to death: but banished them to live a lingring death in divers parts of the world, out of that, which their Fathers had conquered. Some he sent to Chili (one of which was the sonne of Barco aforesaid, which had beene with Huascar) others to the new Kingdome of Granada, to the Iles of Barlovent, to Panama, to Nicaragua, and some hee sent to Spaine, one of which was Juan Arias Maldonado, who lived there an exile ten yeeres, and recounted these things to mee; hee after got leave of the supreme Councell of the Indies to returne to Perù, for three yeeres to recover his goods, and then to returne to Spaine, there to end his dayes. All the rest perished in banishment. The Indians of the bloud Royall, which were sixe and thirtie of the principall of the bloud Royal, he exiled and confined to the Citie of Kings, and with them the two sonnes and daughter of the poore Prince, the eldest not ten yeeres old; the Archbishop of Rimac or The Kings, pitied the young girle, and brought her up: the two sonnes with three and thirtie more died in little above two yeeres, comming out of a cold hilly Countrie to the hot Plaines by the Sea. The three remayning were

What became of the Incas race.

Don Carlos my School-fellow, sonne of Don Christovall Paullu, and two others, which were sent home to their houses, but died all in a yeere and halfe after. Of Don Carlos sonne we have said before, that hee came into Spaine in hope of great rewards which in Peru were promised him. He died Anno 1610. at Alcala de Henares of griefe to see himselfe shut up in a Monastery, and left one sonne with three daughters. The sonne died being a childe of little more then a yeere old, and so the Rent granted by the Contractation house at Sivill to his father ceassed.

Don Melchiors the last Incas death.

Tupac Amaru executed.

Now for the Prince Tupac aforesaid (to returne to him) they sentenced him to lose his head, which was executed, the Crier proclayming his treason and tyrannies against the Catholike Majestie of King Philip the second, King of Spaine, and Emperour of the New World. They told the Inca that he was sentenced to lose his head, without any particular cause mentioned: hee answered, hee had done nothing worthie of death, that the Vice-roy might send him prisoner to Spaine, to kisse the hands of his Soveraigne King Philip, which would be securitie enough. And if his father were not able with 200000. Indians, to subject 200. Spaniards in Cozco, what needed the Vice-roy now feare any new commotion? The religious hastened to instruct him for baptisme, to which he was willing, he said, his Grandfather Huayna Capac having commended the Christian Law, as better then theirs: He was Christened by the name of Don Philip, with as much griefe of those which were present, as was joy made at the baptising of Sairi Tupac. The Spaniards did not imagine that the sentence should be executed, being so contrarie to humanitie, and disagreeable to the Majestie of King Philip. It was performed on a Scaffold in the chiefe Street of Cozco. Many sought to petition the Vice-roy, which knowing their errand, would admit none to audience. They set the Prince on a Mule, with a Rope about his necke, his hands

He is baptised Philip.

tied, one going before, to proclaime his treason. He not understanding Spanish, asked the Friers, and hearing that he proclaimed him Auca, called him to him, and said to him, Say not so, for thou knowest it is a lye, and I never did or thought treason, as all the world knoweth; but say, that I must die for the Vice-roys pleasure, and not for my faults against him or the King; I appeale to Pachacamac, that this is true. The multitude crying and lamenting, they feared some stirre, there being 300000. soules assembled in the streets, they hasted to set him on the Scaffold. The Priests prayed him to still the clamours and out-cries of the people. Hee stretched out his arme with his hand open, which hee layd on his eare, thence letting it fall by degrees to his thigh; whereupon followed a sudden silence, as if there had not beene a man left in the Citie. Which made the Spaniards to wonder, and the Vice-roy amongst others which stood at a window to see the execution. Thus died the Inca with great magnanimitie, as the Incas have beene in such cases accustomed, he worshipping the Images of our Saviour, and of the Virgin, as the Priests taught him.

Vice-roys just reward.

The Vice-roy returned with great wealth, and with 500000. Pezos in gold and silver, and going to kisse the Kings hand, he bad him get him to his house; he had not sent him to Peru, to kill Kings, but to serve Kings. The Councell of Indies receiving information against him arrested all his treasure aforesaid, which filled him with such griefe that hee died within few dayes after.

Loyolas death.

Loyola, which had taken him, and was husband to his brothers daughter, was sent generall to Chili, where the Araucans having spies on him, when hee had sent most of his Souldiers to garrisons, with voices of birds and beasts gave signes to their fellowes, which came in with a great power of Indians, and killed him and all his Spaniards. Anno 1603.

[IV. vii. 1489.]

Araucans policy.

Thus have wee fleeted the creame of the Incas Historie of the Incas; the Spaniards (whose acts hee

principally handleth in his second part) have enough of their owne to relate their acts, some of which also follow, and others have gone before, to shew how they conquered and used their conquests of and in the New World. The greatnesse of that State, and strangenesse of the rising, proceeding, and ruine of the Incas, made mee the larger, though all this be not so much in words, as one of the seventeene Bookes, out of which it is gathered. It may bee of good use, both to understand the Spanish Indian Historians, as Acosta, &c. and in many things in which for want of Language, and acquaintance with the Incas, they have received and delivered errours, to amend them: and in this kinde, for antiquities, is a jewell, such as no other Peru Merchant hath set to sale. If I have seemed confused, and without exact method, I have followed my Authour, who setting forth the former part, Anno 1608. published the other, 1617. having received of some later occurrents better intelligence. Wee will now leave this Inca-Spaniard, and briefly recount from the Spanish Actors and Authors, what passed in those first and great mutations. Ramusio published these three following Discourses at large, which wee have thus contracted.

Chap. XV.

Briefe Notes of Francis Pizarro his conquest of Peru, written by a Spanish Captaine therein employed.

Certaine Spanish Captaine, whose name is not added to his Tractate writeth, that in Februarie 1531. he went with Pizarro from Panama, who arrived, and stayed three moneths at Tumbez, and thence went to Tangarara, and founded Saint Michaels, where he heard of Atabalipa or Atahualpa, and his warres with his brother

Cusco: who sent a Spie thither, and as hee marched, presents, to Pizarro. Hee with tortures learned of two Indians what and where Atabalipa was. They marched on (he sayth) to Caxamalca, a Citie foure miles in circuit, entred with two Gates. On one side of the Citie is a great Palace walled about, with a great Court planted with trees. This they call the House of the Sunne, whom they worship, putting off their Shooes when they enter. And such there are in every great Towne. There were two thousand houses, in streets straight as a Line, the walls of strong stone, three paces (or fathoms) high; within are faire Fountaines of water, and in the midst a greater street then any in Spaine, walled about; before which is a Fortresse of stone, with staires from the Street to the Fort. On one side of this Street is the Palace of Atabalipa with Gardens and Lodgings, the houses all painted with divers colours: in one roome were two great Fountaines adorned with plates of Gold, in one of which runnes water so hote that a man cannot indure his hand therein, the other being very cold. The people are neate, the women are honest, weare a wrought Girdle on their long garments, above that a Mantle which covereth them from the head to the midst of the thigh. The men weare white Frockes without sleeves. The women in a Palace made Chicha for the Armie. After the Armies approached, a Frier of the Order of Saint Dominike, went and told him that the Christians were his friends. The Cacique (Atabalipa or Atahuallpa) answered, that first hee would have them restore all that they had taken in his Land, and after hee would doe as hee should see cause. The Frier with a Booke in his hand, beganne to speake to him the things of God; hee demanded the booke, and the Father gave it him, and he threw it downe about his people. The Indian Interpreter ranne and tooke it up and gave it the Father, who suddenly returned, crying, Come forth Christians, come forth, and set on these Enemies, Dogs,

Caxamalca or Cassamarca described.

Chicha is a kind of Drinke made of Maiz. Frier Vincent. This is denied by Inca Vega, because (it seemes) the thing seemes odious, rather then false: and he might not tell tales offensive to Spanish eares: especially to the Friers which authorized his Booke to the presse.

which will not accept the things of God, whose Prince hath throwne on the ground the Booke of our holy Law. Thereupon the Governour sounded the Trumpets, and gave a token to the Gunner to discharge the Ordnance, and the Spaniards on foot and horsebacke rushed on with such furie, that the Indians hearing the dreadfull thunders of the Artilerie, and seeing the force of the Horses, fled: the Governour went directly to the Litter in which Atabalipa was whom hee tooke, many Indians whose hands were cut off bearing the same Litter on their shoulders. Sixe or seven thousand were slaine besides many which had their Armes cut off, and other wounded.

Atabalipa taken; description of his person.

Atabalipa, by an Indian, sent to the other Indians, that they should not flee, for hee was still alive in the Christians hands, whom hee commended for a good Nation, and commanded his to serve them. Hee was about thirtie yeeres old, a personable man, somewhat grosse, with thicke lips, and eyes incarnate with bloud; his speech grave. The next day the Spaniards got fiftie thousand Pezos of Gold (each worth one Ducket and two Carolines) and seven thousand Markes of Silver, and many Emeralds, wherewith the Cacique seemed content: and said, that he would give him as much Gold as would fill a roome to such a marke, higher then a tall man could reach by a spanne, the roome being twenty five foot long, and fifteene broad. The Governour asked how much Silver hee would give? he said, that hee would have tenne thousand Indians, which should make a partition in the midst of the Palace, and fill it with vessels of Silver of divers sorts, all which he would give for his ransome. The Governour promised him his libertie on this condition, and to worke no treason against the Christians. Fortie dayes were set, and twentie passed in which came no Gold. Then we learned that he had taken his brother Cusco * his brother by the father, a greater man then himselfe. He had told some, that Atabalipa promised the Gold which he had,

A Marke is in these discourses 8. ounces.

[IV. vii. 1490.] **These first entrers of Peru call both Huayna Capac and Huascar by the name of their chiefe Citie Cusco.*

and hee would give the Christians foure times as much as the other had promised: which being told to Atabalipa, he caused him suddenly to bee dispatched. Hee killed another of his brothers, which had said he would drinke in Atabalipas skull, but contrariwise he drunke in his; which I my selfe saw, and all that went with Hernando Pizarro. I saw the head with the skinne, the flesh drie, and the haires on, and his teeth closed, and betwixt them a Pipe of Silver, and on the top a Cup of Gold fastned to the head, with a hole going into it. His Slaves put Chicha into the Cup, which ranne by the mouth into that pipe, whence Atabalipa drunke.

Anno 1533. the Governour gave his brother Hernando leave to goe with a Companie of Spaniards to Guamachuco, and there he found an hundred thousand Castiglians of Gold, which they brought for Atabalipas ransome. Diego Almagro came with an hundred and fiftie men to our succour. Because the Gold came so slowly, Atabalipa willed the Governour to send three men to Cusco, laying the blame on his imprisonment, which made the Indians not to obey him. These Christians were carried by Indians in Hamacas, a kinde of Litters, and were served. They arrived at Xauxa, where was Chilicuchima, a great Captaine of Atabalipa, the same which had taken Cusco, which had all the Gold at his command. He gave the Christians thirty burthens of Gold, of which each weighed an hundred pounds. They said it was little, and he gave them five burthens more, which they sent to the Governour by a Negro, whom they had brought with them. They went on to Cusco, where they found Quizquiz, a Captaine of Atabalipas, which made little account of the Christians. He said that if they would not restore his Master for that Gold he would give, he would take him out of their hands: and sent them presently to a Temple of the Sunne, covered with plates of Gold.* The Christians without the helpe of any Indian (for they refused,

Journey to Cusco, and gold there.

**In the inside, &c. See sup. in the Inca Vegas relation.*

saying they should die, it being the Temple of the Sunne) with Pickaxes of Brasse disfurnished the same, as they told us afterwards, and spoyled the Temple. Many Pots and vessels of Gold were also brought (which there they used for their cookery) for ransome of their Lord Atabalipa. In all the house, there was such store of Gold, that it amased them. They were amazed to see one seat in their house of Sacrifices which weighed nineteene thousand Pezos of Gold: in another where old Cusco lay buried, the pavement and the walls were covered with plates of Gold and Silver, which they did not breake, for feare of the Indians displeasure, nor many great earthen Pots there, covered with Gold likewise. In that House were two dead and embalmed, neere to whom stood a woman with a Maske of Gold on her face, which fanned away the winde and Flies. Shee would not let them enter with their shooes on: they went in and tooke much Gold, but not all, for Atabalipa had intreated them, because there lay his Father. They found there a great house full of Pots and Tubs, and vessels of Silver. They would have brought much more then they did, but that they were alone, and above two hundred and fiftie leagues from other Christians: but they shut it up, and sealed it for his Majestie, and the Governour Francis Pizarro, and set a guard on it.

Huayna Capacs Sepulchre.

Poore shifts for horse shooes.

Over the Rivers as they passed, they found two Bridges together, one open for the vulgar, the other shut for the passage of great men. Hernando Pizarro travelling over the Mountaines with his Horse, where the way was made with hands in many places as a Scale or Staires, which ware off his Horse shooes, commanded the Indians to shooe his Horses with Gold and Silver, and so came to the Citie, bigger then Rome, called Pachalchami *, where in one filthie chamber was an Idoll of wood, which they said, was their God which gives life to all things, at whose feete were many Emeralds fastned in Gold. They have him in such veneration,

**This was the Temple of Pachacamac, in the former relation. This Idoll perhaps was that which the Natives had kept from before the Incas conquest, for then they worshipped none. Estetas treatise of this Voyage is in Ramusio.*

that none may serve nor touch him, nor the walls of the house, but such, as they say, are called by him. It is certaine, that the Devill there speakes to them, and tells them what they should doe. They come 300. leagues off to him, and offer him gold, silver, and jewels, giving it to the Porter which goeth in and returnes them an answer. They which serve him must be pure and chaste, abstaining from eating, and women. All the Countrie of Catamez payeth him tribute. The Indians feared that the Idoll would have destroyed the Spaniards: which neverthelesse entred without scruple, and brought very little Gold thence, for the Indians had hidden it all; they found the places whence they had carried great store; so that they got not above 30000. Pezos, & of a Cacike 10000. more. Chilicuchima sent them word, that he had store of Gold for them at Xauxa, but deceived them.

They brought him and other great men to Atabalipa, which put coarse Cloth on them before their entrance, and did him great reverence, lifting up their hands to the Sunne, with thankes that they had seene their Lord, and came by little and little neerer him, and kissed his hands and feet, who shewed great signes of Majestie, and would not looke any of them in the face. They tied Chilicuchima to a stake, and set fire to him, to extort a confession of old Cuscos Gold from him, which (much burned first) said that Quizquiz had it in keeping: and that old Cusco, though dead, was still observed, and had victuals set before him; and told of another Pavilion, where were great vessels, from whence the Governour sent and fetched much Gold. [IV. vii. 1491.] The Christians came from Cusco with above an hundred and ninety Indians laden with Gold. Some vessels were so great, that twelve Indians had much adoe to bring them. The Governour melted all the small pieces, which I can well tell, for I was keeper of the house of Gold, and saw it melted, and there were above nintie Plates of Gold: there were in that roome two hundred

great tankards * of Silver and many small, with pots and other peeces very faire. I thinke I saw weighed of the Silver 50000. Markes. There were also in the same roome eighty tankards of Gold, and other great peeces: there was also a heape higher then a man of those plates of very fine Gold; and to say truth, in all the roomes of the house were great hils or heapes of Gold and Silver. The Governour put them together and weighed them before the Officers, and then chose some to make the shares for the company. The Governour sent the Emperour a present of 100000. pesoes in fifteene tankards, and foure pots, and other rich peeces. Every footman had 4800. pesoes of gold, which made 7208. Duckets, and the Horsemen twice as much, besides other advantages. Before the sharing he gave Almagros company 25000. * pesoes, and 2000. pesoes of Gold to those which had staid at Saint Michaels: and much gold to all that came with the Captaine, two or three great Cups of gold a peece to the Merchants, and to many which had gotten it, lesse then they deserved. I say it, for so it fared with me. Many presently, amongst which I was, demanded leave to returne to Spaine, and five and twenty obtained it. When Atabalipa heard they would carry the gold out of the Country, he sent for men to come and assault the Governour. A few dayes before two Sonnes of old Cusco came thither and lodged with the Governour, one * of them was naturall Lord of the Countrey. Upon newes of forces comming, they brought Atabalipa by night to a stake to burne him alive, by the command of the Governour; but he said he would be a Christian; whereupon after Baptisme they strangled him that night, and the Countrey was quiet. The Governour made the eldest Sonne of old Cusco Lord of the Countrey, which caused great joy to the Natives. Wee arrived in Sivil, January the fifteenth 1534.

*Cantari.

*Others say 100000.

*Atabalipas pretended treason.

*Manco.

Chap. XVI.

The Conquest of Peru and Cusco, called New Castile, and directed to the Emperour by Francisco de Xeres, Secretary to Captaine Francis Pizarro, which conquered them.

Rancis Pizarro lived in Panama which the Governor Pedrarias de Avila had peopled. He was Sonne of Captaine Gonzalo Pizarro of Trugillo: hee obtained licence of Pedrarias to goe upon new discoveries; and having bestowed a good part of his estate in a Ship and necessaries, he departed from Panama November the foureteenth 1524. with one hundred and twelve Spaniards, and some Indians: seventie daies after they went on land, which after they named Of Hunger, with eightie men, the rest being dead, and sent the Ship to the Iland of Pearles neere Panama for victuals, hoping of their returne in twelve dayes, which continued forty seven, they living on the Seas wilde provisions meane whiles, whereby twenty dyed, and the rest were very weake. A Cow hide which they had for service of the Ship, they had shared amongst them and eaten before the Ship returned. Then did they proceede on the Voyage, and came to a Towne which the inhabitants had forsaken, where they found store of provisions: and the next day the Countrie people set on them, easily overthrew ours being weake, gave the Captaine seven wounds very dangerous, and left him for dead; slew five; and wounded seventeene of the rest: whereupon they returned for Panama, and he staied at Chuchama to refresh and cure himselfe. A little before Diego de Almagro his companion was gone for his succour with a Ship and seventy men; and landing at the place where Pizarro was beaten, was there assaulted and lost one of his eyes; many Christians were wounded,

Pizarros beginning.

Land of Hungre.

Pizarro wounded.

Almagro wounded.

but for all that they fired the towne, and put the enemy to flight: sailing thence, they came to a great River which they called Saint Johns, and found there some shew of Gold, and returned, and found Pizarro in Chuchama.

Almagro was sent to Panama, where Pedrarias misliked and crossed this designe which had proved hitherto so vaine; but he with much adoe returned with one hundred and ten men to Pizarro, with whom fiftie of the former remained of both companies, one hundred & thirty being dead. In two Ships they set forth and spent three yeares in great travell; hunger killed the most of them, that fiftie onely remained: not finding neverthelesse any good Countrie. Then it was their hap to finde great hopes of Gold and riches, comming to Cancebi, and tooke six men to learne their language. Almagro was sent for more men to Panama, whiles Pizarro staied at Cock-Iland. But some had written to the Governour to be freed from thence. The Governour sent licence to those which would; onely sixteene staied there with Pizarro five moneths till the Ship returned, and then on the last day of the time granted them, having made better discovery arrived at Panama.

Three yeares troubles.

Cock Iland.

[IV. vii. 1492.]

Pizarro was sent into Spaine to get graunt of the Countrey, which in large Commission hee obtained, and after his returne departed from Panama with three Ships, and 180. men, and 37. Horse. In thirteene dayes he arrived at the Port of Saint Matthew, which was as much as before he could doe in two yeares, and landing there, found all the Country in armes. They marched till they came to a great towne called Coache, which they suddenly assaulted, and there got in Gold, to the value of 15000. Castellines, and 750. pounds * of Silver, and many Emeralds, which they then knew not, and therefore for small trifles exchanged them with the Indians. Thence the Governour sent backe for men and horse to Panama and Nicaragua. He went with his Spaniards to the Isle Puna, rich and populous, which subjected themselves, and

**Understand of pounds by weight, as by markes eight ounces, by Castellines Pezos.*

Puna.

because it was winter, staid there. Those Indians rebelled and raised forces. Hee tooke the Cacique (having understanding hereof) and made great slaughter of the Ilanders, and having beheaded ten principall men, he set free the Cacique to call together the Ilanders, which had fled to Tumbez. Pizarro went thence to Tumbez, where he found the Indians in armes. Three which had gone in the Boates were robbed and slaine, but Tumbez and many other places rued it.

May 16. 1532. he departed from Tumbez and was well received in many places, to which he gave notice that he came to bring them in subjection to the Emperor, and to the knowledge of the holy Catholik faith; to which many of the Caciques yeelded. Comming to a good River, which he found to have a good Port, he planted a Colonie sixe leagues from the Sea, and called it Saint Michaels. At Chira he found that the Cacique of that Towne, and another of Almotaxe had conspired to kill certaine Christians; hee tooke them both with their chiefe men and burned them alive, sparing the Cacique himselfe of Chira, whose fault was less, and giving him Almotaxe also. This execution was dreadfull to the whole Country. There he shared the Gold which the Caciques, and the men of Tumbez had given them, and paid the Marriners their fraight. He departed thence the foure and twentieth of September 1532. having newes of Atabalipa and Caxamalca: 55. abode at Saint Michaels, and with the Governor remained 62. horsemen and 102. footmen.

Saint Michaels founded.

Cacike and others burned.

Pizarros army.

As he marched he received better intelligence of Atabalipa, and of Cusco, in which old Cusco lay interred in a place which had the roofe and wals covered with Gold and Silver. Hee sent a Captaine to Caxas and Guacamba, with certaine horse and foote. He learned of the way (which he passed betwixt these two townes, the latter of which had a faire stone Castle) that it reacheth from Cusco to Quito above 300. leagues, so broad that six horsemen may ride abrest,

Long highway.

with water passages all alongst for travellers to drinke, and houses for their lodging every dayes journie; with this Captaine returned an Indian with a present from Atabalipa, of two Fountaines of stone and two burthens of dried Ducks (which is the fashion of that Country) signifying his great desire to see the Governour at Caxamalca. All the way from the River of Saint Michaels to Chincha is a Vallie well peopled, hath the way made by hands, walled on both sides with trees in many places set for shadow, made by old Cusco. The people live much after one manner. They * sacrifice their children, and sprinkle the bloud on their Sepulchers, and daube their Idols faces therewith. Their sacrifices goe dancing and singing to their death. The Temples are compassed with stone wals and seated in the highest part of the Citie. He sent an Indian messenger to Atabalipa with words of greatest kindenesse. Leaving the Chincha way, he tooke that which goeth to Cassamalca, and ascended a great Mountaine, the horsemen leading up their horses, sometimes mounting as it were by staires, there being no other way; till they came to a fortresse of Stone, walled with and founded on the rocks. As they proceeded in this Mountaine, they found it very cold. The waters on the top were very cold that without heating they could not drinke them, and they set up their tents and made fires when they staid, because of the cold.

Atabalipas presents.

**Perhaps they had done this before the Incas conquest. But our Inca author denieth this and Casas tels that the Spaniards devised such imputations of sodomy and humane sacrifices &c. to cover and colour their cruelties in all places.*

Here came messengers with ten Sheep for a present from Atabalipa, which told Pizarro of the great victories which he had had against his brother. But hee answered that his Emperour was King of Spaine, and of the Indies, and Lord of the whole world, & had many servants which were greater Lords then Atabalipa; and he had sent him into these Countries to draw the people to the knowledge of God & to his subjection: and with these few Christians, said he, I have overcome greater Lords then is Atabalipa. If he will have friendship I will helpe him in his wars, & leave him in his estate,

but if he choose warre, I will doe to him as to the Cacikes of Puna and Tumbez. The Indian which Pizarro had sent returned from Caxamalca and related that Atabalipa there abode with an armie, and would have slaine him, had hee not said that the like should be done to his Messengers, then being with the Spaniards: that he could not speake with him, but an Uncle of his, which had enquired of the Christians and their armes, all which he extolled to the utmost.

Caxamalca.

The Governor came to Caxamalca the fifteenth of November 1532. Atabalipa sent other messengers with presents. Fernando Pizarro was sent to his campe with another Captain, which did his message to him, but he did not once looke on him, but was answered by a principall man; till the other Captain signified that he was brother to the Governor; & then the tyrant lifted up his eyes and objected the reports of their ill usage of his Caciques, but for his part he would be friend to the Christians, taking them to be good men. They promised helpe against his enemies. He said, he would employ them against a Cacique which had rebelled, together with his Soldiers. Pizarro answered, ten of their horsemen would be enough to destroy him without helpe of your Indians. Atabalipa laughed and bad they should drinke, saying he would the next day see his Brother. They to excuse drinking, said they fasted, but he importuned them, and women came forth with vessels of gold full of drinke of Mayz. Hee looked on them without speaking a word, and they went againe and brought greater vessels of gold, whereof they dranke, and were licenced to depart. There seemed to be 30000. men in the Campe; they stood without their tents with lances in their hands, like to Pikes. The next morning, being Saturday, came a Messenger from Atabalipa, saying that he would come to see him with his people armed. He answered, that he should use his pleasure. The Governour had placed his horse and foote covertly in great houses that they should not stirre forth till oppor-

Ferdinand Pizarro and Soto sent to Atabalipa.

[IV. vii. 1493.]

tunity served (the signe being given, and the Ordnance thereupon discharged) then to rush out suddenly from divers parts & assault the Indians. And seeing Atabalipa staid so long, till neere night, he sent a Messenger to him, signifying his desire to see him. Hereupon he moved to the town with his armie in squadrons, singing & dancing, richly adorned with gold and silver. The Governors purpose was to take him alive, & therefore expected his entrance into that walled or closed street of Caxamalca, which the Indians had forsaken with the fortresse, & left to him. It was late before he came into the town, and being come into the streete he made a stand.

The Governor sent Frier Vincent to him with a Crosse in one hand, and a Bible in the other, being entred where Atabalipa was, he said by an Interpreter, I am a Priest of God, and teach the Christians things divine, and come likewise to instruct you that which the great God hath taught us, and is written in this Booke. And therefore on Gods behalfe, and of the Christians, I pray you to become their friend; for God commands it, and it shall be well for you; and come to speake with the Governor which expects you. Atabalipa asked for his Booke, which he gave him shut. He not knowing which way to open it, the Frier stretched forth his hand to doe it, and he with great disdaine hit him on the arme, and at last opened it himselfe. And without wondring at the letters or paper, as other Indians use, cast it away five or six paces from him: and to the words which the Frier had said to him, he answered with great pride: I well wot what thou hast done in this voiage, and how thou hast handled my Caciques, and taken away their goods. The Frier answered, the Christians have not done this, but some Indians without the Governours knowledge, who knowing it caused them to make restitution. Atabalipa replied, I will not depart hence till they bring it all to me. The Frier carried this answer to the Governor, and that he had throwne the holy Scripture on the ground; who

presently set on the Indians, and came to the litter where Atabalipa was, and tooke him by the left arme, crying Saint James, S. James. The Ordnance plaied; the trumpets sounded; the horse and foot set forth; the Indians fled, the horsemen pursuing and slaying, the foot-men killing all in the streete, the Governour got a wound on the hand in saving his prisoner. In all this hurliburly there was not an Indian which lifted up his armes against the Christians. Pizarro bid his prisoner not be amased at his captivity, for with these Christians, though few, I have subjected greater Lords then thou art to the Emperor, whose vassall I am, who is Lord of Spaine, and of all the world; and by his order I am come to conquer these lands that you may come to the knowledge of God, &c. adding many words of their pitie to the conquered and his good parts and acts. The Spaniards had no harme, onely one horse had a small wound: whereupon the Governor thanked God for the [b]miracle. The Sun was down before they began, and the battell lasted halfe an houre. 2000. Indians were killed, besides those which were wounded, and 3000. taken. In the street of Caxamalca, Pizarro caused to build a Church for the Masse, and fortified the place against all occurrents.

Atabalipa taken without fight of the Indians.

Brave bragge.

[b] *Spanish miracle; none wounded where none striketh, as he saith before.*

Atabalipa promised for his ransome to fill a roome 22. foot long, and 17. wide, with gold up as high as the middle of the roome, higher by one halfe then a mans height, in pots and other vessels, plates & peeces: and the same roome twice filled with silver, in two moneths space. But so much not comming in so soone, the Governor sent three men to Cusco, February 15. 1533. commanding one of them in the name of his Majesty, & presence of a Notary, to take possession thereof. A Negro which went with them returned, April 28. with 107. burthens of gold, and seven of silver, May 25.

Atabalipas ransom, which was paid and he acquitted, as Pizarro himselfe writes in the next chap. yet was he murthered, & that after they had made him a Christian Cieza c. 119. saith, that God punished the Spaniards for their cruelties to the Indians, and few died naturall deaths; all that had hand in Atabalipas death died miserably. For this God suffered the wars, &c. he nameth also Carvaias, Robledo, Belalcazar, Tovar, Martin &c. whom God plaged for tyrannies to the Indians.

A.D. 1533. Fernand Pizarro came to [c] Caxamalca with Chilicucima, May the thirteenth, the Notary returned from Cusco with relation that they had taken possession, & had found 30. great Cities in the way besides small. He said that there was a Pallace with plates of gold, foure square, each square containing 350. pases from corner to corner, 700. of which they had taken away, each of which waighed 500. Castilians: from another house the Indians had taken as much as 200000. Castilians, which they rejected[d] because the gold was base. He said that Chischis was there with 30000. men for guard of the Citie. They brought 178. burthens of gold, each as much as foure Indians bare on their necks, so that it could not come thither in a moneth by reason of requiring so many Indians to carry it. It was the thirteenth of June before the gold came from Cusco, which was two hundred burthens & twenty five of Silver. After this came sixtie burthens of base gold, taken from wals of houses. It was shared on S. James his day. The fifth being taken out for his Majesty, every horseman had 8880. Castilians in gold, and 362. markes in silver, each marke being eight ounces. The footemen had halfe so much, some more and some lesse, as the Governour valued their merits. The Emperours fifth was 262259. Castilians* of Gold and 51610. Markes of Silver.

He set apart a quantity for those of Saint Michaels, and for those which came with Almagro, and the Merchants, and all the Marriners, Prices of things were according: a Horse was commonly sold for 1500. Castilians of Gold; a vessell of six quarts (Bocali) of wine for sixtie Castilians, I paid fortie for foure quarts: a paire of shooes for forty, as much, or fiftie for a sword. I paid twelve for halfe an ounce of bad Saffron: ten for a sheet of Paper to write; nothing seemed cheape but Gold and Silver, insomuch that they would not stand to weigh their Gold, but gave it in masse; and if hee gave not twice the quantitie, hee cared not. Debtors

[c] *He had been at Pachacamac, Estetes discourse of that Voiage is at large in Ramusio, here omitted.*

[d] *Herera saith, that in their sharings, the Spaniards valued gold of 14. carats at 7. and by the abundance thereof grew to great excesses in gaming, pride & other vices: he saith that the three sent to Cusco were fooles & their behaviour* [IV. vii. 1494.] *caused the Indians to undervalue the Spaniards.*

* *A Marke is 8. ounces and a Castilian is a Pezo which containeth in this Peru account after Inca Vega 450. Maravedix; every 5. Pezos or Castellanos being six Duckets: about seven shillings English. Golden Age. Miserable comforters.*

went from house to house with Indians laden with Gold to pay their debts. Atabalipa beeing accused of Treason by another Cacique, that he sought to rayse forces in Quito, was therefore sentenced to be burned, and brought forth to execution, where he said he would be a Christian and Frier Vincent baptized him and comforted him at his death; the Governour commanded he should not be burnt but strangled, which was executed on a Saturday, about the same houre that he was taken. One of his Brothers was made Lord by the Governour in presence of the Caciques, with great solemnitie, they lifting up their eyes to the Sunne with thankes for giving them a naturall Lord. Fernando Pizarro was sent to Spaine, and some others had license, many flocking thither, hearing of the Riches there gotten.

Herera Dec. 5. l. 3. saith that Atahuallpa had desired his libertie because his ransome was paid, and his promise fulfilled (as Pizarro himselfe by sound of Trumpet acknowledged) which being deferred, his Captaines offered him to free him by force. Atahualpa refused and commanded them to serve the Christians. The Yanaconas a slavish kind of people, desiring to free themselves from the Oreiones and Incas in those broyles raysed false newes that Armies were raysed to assault the Spaniards. Pizarro seeing that Atahualpa stood in his way, and hindered his foundation of a Spanish Empire in those parts, which could not be without the dissipation of that of the Incas, nor that without Atahualpas death, Y esto tenia por justo, pues era provechioso, He held it just because it was profitable: Hee spake to the Inca complaning of insurrection which he answered was but the rumour of his enemies, that he he had paid his ransome, &c. Pizarro made shew (dissembling his purpose) of great feare of the enemies, which caused the Spaniards to urge and importune Atabalipas death (and to speake as you have read in them) whereupon Pizarro had sufficient colour for his Designe, making shew that the Treasure paid in name of a ransome was not for the Incas libertie, but

lest the Indians should hide it. Frier Vincent consented also, and so he was sentenced to be burned, &c. Hee addeth out of Seneca, Prosperum ac sœlix scelus virtus vocatur. Thus the Kings Chronicler, saying also that Fernand Pizarro was Atahualpas friend, and his brother did it after his departure. He died in Prison, and all the rest (of whose names Herera giveth a Catalogue) were slaine and murthered in civill warres, or came to ill ends. Yea, still the warres continue in Arauco, to the death of many Spaniards, besides the civill warres of Giron, &c. in Peru after that of the Pizarrists. God is just, and therefore Pizarro the Murtherer of Atahualpa (a cruell Murtherer also) was murthered, and so hee that murthered Pizarro, and so forwards; the Serpents Issue and Generation of Hell proceeds from murther to murther, the Devill himselfe being a Murtherer from the beginning. Once; Peru alone with Chili (both subjects to the Incas Empire) hath more advanced the Spanish Treasures then all the New World besides: neither is there any so likely way to supplant that Castilian-American greatnesse, as by the Araucos.

Chap. XVII.

Relations of Occurrents in the Conquest of Peru after Fernand Pizarros departure written at Xavxa, July 15. 1534. by Pedro Sancho, Notary Generall in the Kingdomes of New Castile, and Secretary to the Governour Fr. Pizarro, subscribed by the said Governour himselfe and others, and sent to his Majestie.

TEn or twelve dayes after Fernand Pizarros departure, two Spaniards came from Cuzco with Gold, part whereof was melted being small and fine pieces, taken out of the wals of a certaine house in Cusco, being above five hundred wedges or plates of Gold, the small weighing foure or five pounds a piece, the greater ten or twelve.

All the wals of that Temple had beene covered with them. They brought a chaire or throne of most fine Gold, weighing eighteene thousand Pezos, and a Fountayne of Gold of excellent workmanship, and the mould in which it was cast; and many other pieces, pots and vessels: which all mounted to two Millions and a halfe, and beeing melted into most fine Gold came to be one Million 320000. Pezos and upwards: out of which his Majesties fifth was taken, above 260000. Pezos, they made it up 270000. Of Silver there was 50000. Markes, his Majesties part 5000. the rest was shared amongst the company according to their qualities and merits. [IV. vii. 1495.] After this, the Governour made an act before a Notary, in which he acquitted Atabalipa of his promise to the Spaniards, for so much as the house would hold, and caused it to bee published in Caxamalca by the sound of a Trumpet, acquainting Atabalipa himselfe therewith by an Interpreter, declaring withall that for his Majesties service and security of the Countrey, he would still detayne him with a guard, till more Spaniards came for his security: specially considering that hee had taken order for levying of men of warre to assault the Spaniards, which hee had no meanes to avoid but by keeping him fast, and his Captayne Generall Chilichuchima. A few dayes after the Indians revealed the Treasons of that Tyrant, notwithstanding all his good usage by the Governour and Spaniards, which was prevented by his death: his sentence of burning by reason of his Baptisme being executed with strangling, and after his death some part of his clothes and flesh were burned. It was late in the Evening, and the next morning he was solemnely buried in the Church, as if he had beene the chiefe Spaniard in the Campe: which gave much satisfaction to his principall Caciques and Captaines.

This done, in presence of many Commanders and Cacikes he gave them a Lord in the name of the Emperour, a Sonne of Guaynacaba (Huayna Capac, or as the Spaniards use to call him Guainacapac) called

Atabalipa,[b] to whom the Empire was due, and placed him in his Seat, they all offering the Rites of vassallage to him, to wit, a white feather, according to their custome. The new Inca fasted three dayes for the deceassed, shut up from all societie but his Pages, and after came forth honourably attired and attended with about fifty Cacikes and Captaines there present, and did eat together on the ground (for they use no Tables) after which, he offered a white Feather in token of his vassallage to the Emperour. The Governour received it and embraced him with much love, and concluded a peace, taking the names of the Cacikes, and the Countries under their command, and intimated that he was sent by his Emperour to give them knowledge of the true God, Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost, and what they should observe for their salvation; and that that God and his Vicars left on earth (for he ascended to Heaven there to remayne in glorie) had given those Provinces to the Emperour to take charge thereof, who had sent him to instruct them in the Christian Faith, and to bring them under his obedience: and caused his Commission to bee read and interpreted to them. They all acknowledged the Emperour for their supreme Lord, and next under him their Lord Atabalipa, and in signe thereof lifted up (each of them twice) the Royall Banner. All this act was entred into writing with testimonies, and great Feasts were made by them.

[b] *Other Incas made; one called Atabalipa to serve the Spaniards turn. Without them (as in the conclusion they confesse) they could, being so few, never have perfected their conquest. But first they used the Cuscoans against those of Quito, and lastly to pacifie all to the Spanish subjection. After which they performe nothing but falshood and cruelty, Pizarros purpose being alway by any way to erect the Spanish Empire.*

At this time the Governour ceased the partition of the Gold and Silver amongst the Spaniards, and Atabalipa gave the Gold of the Fifths Royal to the Treasurer of his Majesty, which was carried to Xauxa where the Governour intended to plant a Colonie of Spaniards, having intelligence of the good Countrey thereabouts. He provided him of Indians for carriages, and sent a Captaine with ten Horsemen to inhabit Saint Michaels till ships came, and after that to returne to Xauxa. He heard that some of Atabalipas Captaines had slaine Gariticus his Brother, which grieved much

Second sharing. Garitico slaine: for as the war had bin begun by Atabalipa the first, against Cusco: so after his death, it was by his Captaines continued against

A.D. 1534.

both the Governour and the present Atabalipa. He as he marched heard of divers which were up in Armes against him, five leagues from Xauxa, whereupon he put Chilichuchima in chaines, by whose meanes the report was that they had done it. They went and adjoyned themselves to Quizquiz. When he came to Xauxa, none of his Spaniards were willing to abide there because the Countrey was in Armes, yet he left a Colony of eighty men with Officers. About this time died Atabalipa of sicknesse, of poyson given by Chilichuchima, as was reported, who sought to have the rule remaine in Quito, and not in Cusco. The Governour bad them provide a Successor. Calichuchima would have Aticoc Sonne of Atabalipa, but others and the Governour liked better of a Brother of Atabalipa (Sonne of Guanacapa.) He came to a Towne where he found much Silver in great sheets of twentie foot long and one broad, a finger thicke. They received intelligence of a skirmish with the enemy by another band of Spaniards, in which eighteene horses were hurt and one slaine; in another the Spaniards had the victory. The Governour caused Chilichuchima to be burned, who refused to become a Christian, and called upon Pachacamac. After this he marched to Cusco, which hee entred on Friday the fifteenth of November 1533. And the next day made that Sonne of Guaynacapac their Lord, being the right heire, and commanded the Cacikes to obey him.

the Incas there seeking to advance Quito above Cusco, & the seed of Atabalipa to Sovereigntie.

Chilichuchima burned.

Manco Inca made Lord.

Incontinently the New Cacike (or Inca) gave order to assemble forces against Quizquiz; in foure dayes five thousand were comne together well armed, with whom the Governour sent a Captaine with fiftie Horse, remayning himselfe for the guard of the Citie. These having done somewhat against the enemy, were forced to returne by the ill mountanous passages. The Cacique having fasted three dayes, and performed and received the Rites of vassallage (before mentioned in his Predecessor) at the Governours request levied greater forces, so that above five and twentie thousand went with the

Spaniards, which made a Bridge of three hundred and sixtie foote long, broad enough for two Horsemen to passe abreast, and passed to Bilcas. Some of them went to the succour of Xauxa which had obtayned good success against their enemies.

[IV. vii. 1496.] *Third sharing of gold and silver at Cusco: Images of beasts & men in gold.*

The Governour after this caused all the Gold to bee melted by experienced Indians, which amounted to 580200. Pezos and upwards of good Gold. The Emperours fifth was 116460. Pezos and upwards. The Silver was melted, and weighed 215000. Markes, of which 170000. and upwards was good, in Vessels and Barres, the rest alayed with other Metals. The fifth was deducted thence for his Majestie. Amongst other things there were sheepe of fine Gold very great, and ten or twelve Statues of women in their just bignesse and proportion, artificially composed of fine Gold. They performed like veneration to them as if they had beene alive, clothing, adoring, giving them to eate and talking with them. There were others of Silver in the same stature. All this Treasure was shared betwixt those of Cusco and the Spaniards of Xauxa.

Cusco a Spanish Colonie.

In March 1534. the Governor assembled all the Spaniards, and made a solemne act of the foundation of a Towne and possession taken in the midst of the chiefe street, by the name of the noble and great Citie of Cusco: bounds were set out for a Church, and priviledges allotted to such as within three yeeres should come thither to dwell. Above twelve thousand married Indians were designed to the Province of Collao, to his Majesties Mynes of Gold in those parts.

Other Spaniards enter Peru.

After this he departed with the Cacique towards Xauxa. There he had newes of two hundred and fiftie comne from Panama to Saint Michaels, seventy of them horsemen, and of Alvarados landing with foure hundred men, and one hundred and fiftie horsemen. Having overthrowne his enemies, he tooke order for founding a Church in Xauxa, and sent some Spaniards with an Army of Indians to pursue the enemies. There is a

Mountayne of Snow which continueth from Caxamalca to Xauxa, where Snow lyeth all the yeere. The people are more civill and better Souldiers. On the other side the Mountayne (Eastward) they are Savage people feeding on fruites, having small store of Maiz. All their Tribute was Feathers. From Xauxa to Cusco the Countrey enlargeth it selfe from the Sea. Collao is a plaine Countrey and cold, and hath many Rivers where gold is taken. The Mountaynes continue from Tumbez to Xauxa, and thence to Cusco, if the way bee not made by hands, footmen could not passe, much lesse horsemen: and they have many houses full of Brasse to worke [c] up the same. All the rough Mountaynes are wrought like staires [d] of stone. There are some places where foure or five mens heights, the way is wrought and made up with stone worke; in others it is cut out of the stone. There are places of entertainment in every Countrey, and by the way one within two or three leagues of another, made for the Lords which visit the Countrey: and every twenty leagues principall Provinciall Cities where the tributes of smaller places are kept. All those great Townes have store-houses full of the Countrey Commodities. There are store of cattle and pastures with their Pastors.

Countrey described.

[c] *Immatonare.*
[d] *Scaloni.*

The Citie of Cusco might be worthy the sight if it were in Spaine, full of great mens houses, all Lords and Caciques, having houses there. The most of those houses are of stone, and some are halfe of stone: the streets are straight in right crosses, and narrow; in the midst runneth a Conduit of water inclosed with stone on each side of which a horseman may passe and no more. The Citie is situate on the top of a Hill, and many houses are built on the side of it, and others below on the Plaine. The Market place is square, paved with small stones. About it are foure houses of Lords of stone painted and wrought; the best of which was Guainacabas: the gate is of white and red Marble, and of other colours, and hath faire Terrasses. On the sides

Description of Cusco, as it was when the Spaniards first came thither. For after the Indians burnt the most part of it in Mancos wars with Piçarro.

of the City ranne two Rivers, which rise a league higher, over which are Bridges. Upon a Hill hard and rough *The Fortresse.* is a very faire Fortresse of earth and stone, with great windowes towards the City. Within it are many Roomes, and one principall Towre in the midst of foure or five [e] *Gironi.* circuits [e] one higher then another; the Lodgings within are small, the stone very fairely wrought and so close joyned that there is no shew of morter, and as smooth as planed boords. It hath so many Roomes and Towres that a man is not able to view them all in a day. Many Spaniards which have beene in Lumbardie and other strange Kingdomes, say that they have never seen such a building as this Fortresse, nor Castle more strong. There may abide within five thousand Spaniards. It cannot be undermined being seated on a Rocke. On the City side which is a ragged Hill, is but one wall, on the other side three, one higher then another, the inmost being highest. The goodliest spectacle are these encompassing circuits, being of stones so great, that no man would imagine them layd there by the hands of men, as great as pieces of stonie Mountaynes and Rockes; [f] *See sup. pag.* 1056. some being of the height of thirty [f] spannes, and as much in length, and none is so little but it is more then three Cart-lodes. The Spaniards preferre them before the buildings of Hercules or of the Romanes. They are reversed [g] that they cannot be battered in plano, but in the slipping [h] turnagaines which goe outwards, made of the selfe-same stone. Betwixt wall and wall is earth laid so broad that three Carts may goe abreast. They are made like three steps, the second beginning on the height of the first, and the third on that of the second. All this Fortresse was a Storehouse of Armes, Clubs, Launces, Bowes, Arrowes, Axes, Shields, Cotton Mandilions quilted, and other armes and garments for Souldiers, gathered from all parts of the Empire, colours of divers sorts and Metals. From this Fortresse may bee seene many houses. In the Valley which is compassed about with Hils are above

Acosta saith he measured some above 38. *foot long, &c.*

[g] *Voltati.*

[h] *Sguincio de igironi.*

100000. houses; many of them houses of pleasure of the Sovereignes Lords and Caciques, others are Store-houses full of Wooll, Armes, Mettals, Clothes and such things as the Countrey yeeldeth; there are Houses where the Tributes are kept, and there is one, where are above 100000. dried Birds, of whose Feathers they make garments. And there are many houses for that purpose. [IV. vii. 1497.] There are Shields, Targets, Plates of Brasse to cover houses, and incredible store of provisions for Warre. Every Sovereigne Lord deceassed hath his owne house of these goods and Tributes which they had in their life (for by their Law the Successor may not inherit it) their Gold, Silver, and Clothes apart. They worship the Sunne and have made him many Temples, and of all things they offer somewhat to the Sunne.

Two Spaniards were sent to Colao, and were forty dayes in the journey. They say it is well peopled, mountaynous, and out of measure cold: so subject, that having many cattle, no man dares kill any without license, though never so great. There is a great Lake (Titicaca) in the midst of the Province, in which are two Ilands, in one of which is a Temple of the Sun in great veneration, where they offer Gold and Silver and other things. There are above sixe hundred Indians which serve there, and a thousand women. The Mynes of Gold are beyond this place, some of ten, some twenty, and that of Guarnacabo is forty fathome deepe, darke and narrow, in which one alone at once entreth, none following till he be comne forth. Other Mynes they pursue no further then a mans height, that he may reach the earth to another: which made some say that all the fields were Gold Mynes. Guainacapa is honoured as if hee were alive, and his bodie is brought forth into the street with Musicke and Dances, and there are some day and night attending him to chase away the flyes. The Lords that come to the Citie, goe first and salute him, and then the King. To these feasts 100000. soules assembled. Had it not beene for the quarrels betwixt those of Quito

and those of Cusco, the Spaniards could not have entred into Cusco, nor have it. And the Mountaynes are such that ten men may defend ten thousand. Many Horses fell downe and brake their neckes. The Spaniards themselves marvell at what they have done, and how they are still alive. It hath falne out well that this Sonne of Guainacaba was made their Lord, for whose love other Lords have given their obedience to the Emperour. He is very friendly to the Christians. July 15. 1534. in Xauxa Subscribed Francisco Piçarro Etc.

Note this.

The end of the seventh Booke.

Voyages

to and Land-Travels in Florida, Virginia, and other parts of the Northerne America, French Plantings, Spanish Supplantings, English Virginian Colonies, and to the Ilands Azores.

THE EIGHTH BOOKE.

Chap. I.

A Relation of Alvaro Nunez called Capo di Vava,* concerning that which happened to the Fleet in India, whereof Pamphilo Narvaez was Governour, from the yeere 1527. untill the yeere 1536. who returned unto Sivill with three of his companions only: translated out of Ramusio, and abbreviated.

**See sup. l. 7. c. 4.*

Ramus. vol. 3.

§. I.

Their Fleet; and admirable and unheard of tempest: their entrance into Florida: the Lakes, troublesome passages, incounters, disastrous successe, building Boats for returne.

THe sixteenth day of June, in the yeare 1527. the Governour Pamphilo di Narvaez departed from the haven of Saint Lucar of Barrameda, with power and commandement from your Majestie to

The Governor of the Fleete.

conquer and governe the Provinces, which lye from the River of Palmes unto the Cape of Florida, all in the firme land. And the Fleete which the Governour brought with him were five Ships, wherein six hundred men went. The Officers, because I am to make particular mention of them in this Booke, were these: Capo di Vava Treasurer, Agozino Provost Martiall, Alonso Eurriquez Auditor, and Alonso de Solis Factor, and overseer for his Majestie. And besides, there was for Commissary, a Frier of the order of Saint Francis, called Frier Giovanni, John Gottierrez, and with him foure other Friers of the same Order.

The officers over the Fleete.

The Iland of S. Dominica.

We arrived first at the Iland of San Dominica, where we stayed but fortie five dayes, to provide our selves of certaine necessary things, and principally of Horses. There we left more then an hundred and forty of our men, which would stay by promise and agreement which they of the Village made with them. Departing thence, we arrived at Saint Jago or Giacomo, which is an haven in the Iland of Cuba, and reposing our selves there certaine dayes, the Captaine furnished himselfe with men, munition, and horses. It hapned in that place, that a Gentleman, called Vasques Parcalle, neere unto the towne of the Trinitie, which is in the same Iland, offered the Governour to give him certaine victuall, which he had in the said towne of the Trinitie, which is an hundred leagues off from the said port of Saint Jago. Whereupon the Governour departed with all the Fleete, towards that towne. But arriving halfe the way at an haven which they call the Cape of Santa Cruz, it seemed good unto the Governor to abide there, and send one Ship onely to receive those victuals, and so he appointed one Captaine Pantoxa to goe thither with his Ship, and that for the greater security, I also should goe with him, and he remained still there with the foure Ships: we having now gotten another in the Iland of Saint Domenica. Being arrived with our five Ships at the haven of the Trinitie, the Captaine Pantoxa went with Vasquez Porcalle to

The haven of S. James.

[IV. viii. 1500.] *The Trinitie.*

An haven called the Cape of Saint Cruz.

receive the victuals at the towne, which was one league distant from the haven. One houre after I was landed, the Sea began to be outragious, and the Northwinde was so strong, that the Boates durst not goe aland, nor could they with the Shippes in any sort put to the contrary side; the winde being in the prowe, whereupon with very great travaile, with two contrary seasons, and with much raine they continued all that day, and the Sunday. The night approaching, the Sea and tempest began so much to increase, that it no lesse tormented those on the land then them at Sea; for all the houses fell downe, and all the Churches, and wee were enforced to goe seven or eight men embracing one another arme in arme together, to be able to resist the winde, that it might not carry us away, and to avoide the ruine of the houses, flying unto the Forrest, the trees gave us no lesse cause of feare, then the houses had given us: because they falling held us in continuall feare, that they would kill us. In this tempest and danger wee passed all the night, without finding any part or place, where for one halfe houre onely wee might stand secure: but principally, the midnight before wee heard noyses and great crying, and the sound of Belles, Flutes, and Drummes, and other instruments, which continued untill the morning, that the tempest ceased. In those Countries so fearefull a thing had never beene seene, whereof I caused a testimoniall and true certificate to be made, which I have sent unto your Majestie.

An Huracano or tempest, notable both at Sea and Land.

Presages.

On Munday morning we went downe to the haven, and found not the Ships there, but saw some of their furniture in the water; whereby we knew that they were cast away. And so we purposed to goe along the coast, searching if we might finde any thing, but finding nothing, we determined to search by the Mountaines, and having gone about a quarter of a league of from the water side, wee found the Boate of a Ship set upon certaine trees: and further beyond, ten leagues along the coast they found two persons of my Ship, and certaine coverings and roofes

Boate placed upon trees by the tempest.

of houses. And those two men were so actually transfigured and changed with weatherbeating, both of the shore, and of the Sea, that they could not know who they were. We found also a Friers habit, and a Coverlet torne in peeces, and found no other person or thing any more. Threescore men were lost in those two Ships, and twenty horses, and those that remained alive were thirty persons onely, who the same day we arrived in that haven, went aland together with the Captaine Pantoxa. Wee remained in such manner for certaine dayes, with much trouble and great necessitie, because the sustenance and provision of that people, was all lost, and destroyed, with certaine wilde Beasts, and the Countrey remained in such sort that it moved great compassion in the beholders, the trees being falne, the mountaines burned, and remaining without leaves, or grasse, and so we passed untill the fift day of November, that the Governour of our Fleete came thither to us, with his other foure Ships, who also themselves had passed great dangers and torments, and were escaped, because in good time they had retired themselves unto some place of safety.

Fifth of November.

The men which he had brought with him, and those that he found there, were so much affrighted, and terrified with the losses and dangers past, that they resolved to imbarke themselves no more in the winter, and besought the Governour that he would suffer them to repose and rest themselves in those places; he perceiving their mindes, and the desire of the inhabitants, did so, and gave me the charge of the Ships, and the men, which should goe with me to winter at the haven of Xaqua, which is twelve leagues distant from that place, and so going thither, we staied untill the twentieth of February following. At this time the Governour came thither unto us, with a Brigantine which he had gotten at the Trinitie, and brought with him a Pilot, called Mirvelo, who (as they said) was a man very well practised, and an excellent Pilot for all the coast of the North. Besides that, the Governour left on the coast of the Lissart Captaine Alvaro

The haven of Sagua, or Xaqua.

della Querda, with a Ship which the Governour had procured there, and left forty men with him, and twelve other with the horse.

Two dayes after the Governour came unto us, wee imbarked our selves, and were (in the whole) foure hundred men, and fourescore horses in foure Ships, and one Brigantine. The Pilot which we had newly taken, brought the Ships through the quicke sands, which they call Canerreo, so that the day following we found our selves on dry land, and so remained five dayes, the keele of the Ships oftentimes striking upon the ground. At the end of those five dayes, a storme from the South brought so much water upon the sands, that wee might come out, although not without much danger. Departing thence, we arrived at Guanignanico, where another tempest assailed us so fiercely, that we stood in great danger to be lost: at the head of the currents we had another, where we staid three dayes. And these being overpassed, we went about the Cape of Saint Anthony, and with a contrary winde, we went till wee came within twelve leagues of the Havana, and standing the day following to put in there, a Southerne gale of winde tooke us, which drove us farre from the land, so that wee crossed over by the coast of Florida, and arrived the twelfth of Aprill, at the land of Martes; so coasting the way of Florida, upon holy Thursday in the same coast, we ancored in the mouth of an open roade, at the head whereof we saw certaine houses, and habitations of the Indians.

Sands of Cunarreo.

[IV. viii. 1501.]

Guanignanico.

The Cape of S. Anthony.

The Havana.

Martes.

The same day Alonso Euriquez the Auditor went out of the Ship, and landed upon an Iland which is in the same open roade, and called to those Indians, who came and abode with us a good space, and by way of ransome gave him fish, and certaine peeces of Deeres flesh. The day following, which was good Friday, the Governour imbarked himselfe with as many men as the Boates could carry, and we went to the Villages or houses of the Indians, which wee had seene, which we found all emptie and desolate, because that night the people were gone in their

Great houses without houskeepers.

Canoes. One of those houses was very great, and able to containe more then three hundred persons, the other were much lesser, and there we found a little Bell of Gold within the Nets. The next day, the Governour advanced the Ensigne for your Majesty, and tooke possession of the Village in your royall name, and presented the Commissions and was received, and obayed as Governour, according to your Majesties appointment. And so in like manner, we presented our other provisoes unto him, which he accepted, and obeyed according to the contents thereof, and presently caused the rest of the men to be shipped, and the horses, which were not above two and fortie, because the other, through the many tempests, and beating of the Sea, and length of time, were dead. And these few that remained, were so weake and wearied, as at that time we could doe little service. The day following, the Indians of those places came unto us, and although they spoke unto us, yet notwithstanding we understood them not.

Golden Bell.

The first towne taken in Florida, in the Emperors name.

The Governour commanded that the Brigantine should goe coasting the way of Florida, and search for the haven, which the Pilot Mirvelo said he knew, but was now astonished, and knew not in what part we were, nor where the haven was; and the Brigantine was appointed, that if they found not the haven, to crosse over to the Havana, and finde the Ship wherein Alvaro della Querda was, and having taken in some victuall, to returne to finde it. The Brigantine being departed, we returned to enter into the Village of the same people where we had bin before, with some other more, and we coasted the gulfe which wee had found, and having gone about foure leagues, we tooke foure Indians, and shewed them Maiz, because untill that day wee had not yet seene any token thereof: they said, they would bring us where it grew, and so they brought us to their Village, which was not farre from thence, at the head of the gulfe, and there they shewed us a little Maiz, which was not yet ripe to be gathered. There wee found many chests of the Merchants of Castile,

and in every one of them was the body of a dead man, all which were covered with Deeres skins painted. The Commissary thought, that it was a kinde of Idolatry, so he burned the chests with all the bodies. We also found peeces of webs of cloath, and Pennacchi, which they had gotten out of Nova Hispaniola, and certaine * mosters of Gold. Whereupon we demanded of those Indians by signes, from whence they had such things. They by signes, shewed us: that very farre from thence there was a Province, called Apalachen, wherein there was great quantity of Gold. Departing from thence, wee went further, carrying for guides those foure Indians which we had first taken, and so ten or twelve leagues off from that place, wee found another people of fifteene houses, where was a goodly Plaine sowed with Maiz, which now was ready to be gathered, and we found some also dry. There we abode two dayes, and after returned.

Samples.

The Province Apalachu.

May the first, the Governour caused two pound of Biscuit, and halfe a pound of Porke to be given to every one of them who were to goe with us, and so we departed, to enter within the land. The summe of all them who went, was three hundred men in all, among whom was the Commissary Frier John Scivarez, and another Frier, called Frier John de Palis, and three Clarkes, and the Officers. Forty of us were on horsebacke, and so with that provision which wee had brought, wee went fifteene dayes without finding any other things to eate, except Dates, like those of Andaluzia. In all this time we found not any Indian, nor saw any house, nor place inhabited: and in the end we found a River, which wee passed with much danger and trouble, by swimming, and upon rafts, and staied a day to passe over it, because it ranne with much fury. Having passed to the other side of the River, two hundred Indians came against us, and the Governour went before, and after he had spoken to them by signes, they made much signes againe unto us, that we should joyne our selves with them, taking five or sixe, who brought us unto their houses which were about halfe

a league off, and there wee found great quantity of Maiz, which stood now ready to be gathered. After some search of the Countrey to the Sea, wee departed from that place, alwayes (as we went) inquiring for that Province, which (the Indians said) was called Apalachen, and brought for guides, them that we had taken, and so went forward untill the seventeenth of June, and found no Indians that durst abide our comming. There, a [y] Cacique came unto us, whom an Indian carried upon his necke, and hee was covered with a Deeres skinne painted, and brought with him many people, who went before him playing upon certaine Flutes made of canes, and so came unto the Governour, and abode with him an houre, and we gave him to understand (by signes) how that we went to Apalachen, and by those signes which he made us, it seemed he ment to signifie that hee was an enemy to them of Apalachen, and would aide us against them. We gave him Crownes, Bels, and such other things, and he gave the Governour the skin which he wore upon him, and so turned backe againe, and we followed presently after him. That evening we came unto a River, which was very deepe and very broad, and ran very furiously, and not presuming to passe over it upon rafts, we made a Canoa, and staied one whole day to passe over it: so that if the Indians would have injured us, they might easily have disturbed our passage, and yet although they holped us the best they could, wee had much trouble. One of our Horsemen, called John Velasquez, a native of Cuellar, because he would not stay, tooke the River with his Horse, and the current of the River being very strong, cast him from his Horse, who catching hold on the raines of the bridle, drowned himselfe, together with the Horse. And those Indians of that Lord, called Dulcancellin, found the Horse, and told us where we should finde him in the River below: and so they went to search for him, whose death much discontented us, because untill that time there was not one man of our company wanting. The Horse gave many their suppers that night. And so

[IV. viii. 1502.]

[y] *Cazique signifieth a Lord among the Indians.*

Strong stream.

Dulcancellin a King or Cazique among them.

having passed that River, the day following we came unto the people of that Lord, who sent us some of their Maiz. The next day we departed, the Indians being fled. The Governour left by the way an ambuscado of certaine Horsemen, which as those Indians passed by, issued out upon them, and tooke three or foure, who before served us for guides, and they brought us through a very troublesome Countrey to travaile, and marvelous to behold, where were huge Mountaines, and very high Trees, whereof so many were fallen to the ground, that they intangled and stopped the way, in such sort that we could not passe without going farre about, to our great trouble; and of those trees that were fallen, the greater part were cleft from one end to the other, through the thunderbolts that fall there, great tempests being alwayes in that place: with this trouble wee marched untill the six and twentieth day of June, at which day we came within the sight of Apalachen before they of the Towne perceived us. We rendered great thankes unto God, seeing our selves so neere unto that place, and supposing that to be true which had been spoken, and hoping we should there end our great travailes which wee had passed, as well for the long and evill journey, as for the great famine which we had sustained. Because, although we sometimes found Maiz, yet for the most part we went six or eight leagues without finding any. And there were many amongst us, that through hunger and wearinesse had wounded their shoulders with continuall wearing of their armes, besides the other calamities they daily incountered.

Troublesome Countrey.

Trees cleft with thunderbolts.

Apalachen.

The Governour commanded me to take with me nine horse, and fiftie foote, and enter the towne, which the Controler and I did, and found none but little children, and women, because at that time the men were not there, but going a little way from those places, the Indians came, and began to fight, and shoot at us, and slew the Controulers horse; but in the end they fled, and left us. There we found great quantity of Maiz which stood

ready to be gathered, and had sufficient, of which was dry, remaining. We found there many skinnes of wilde beasts taken by hunting, and some garments of thred, little and nought worth, wherewith the women cover some parts of their person.

Cacciagioni.

They had many Mils to grinde Maiz. Among these people there were forty little houses, low built, and in close places, for feare of the great tempests to which that Countrey continually is accustomed. The houses are made of straw of stubble, and compassed about with Mountaynes standing thicke together, and great Trees, and many Seas of water, where so many and so great Trees are falne, that they trouble every thing, and cause that no man is able to travell there without great incumberance.

Great tempests in those parts.

The land from the place where we disbarked unto this people of Apalachen, for the most part is plaine, and the soyle consisteth of hard and solid sand, and throughout all the same many great Trees, and famous Mountaines are found, where Nut trees are, and Labrani, and other, which they call Laquidambares: there are also Cedars, Savine-trees, Holme-trees, Pines, Okes, and low Palme-trees like those of Castile. Throughout all that Countrey there are many great and little Lakes, and some are very troublesome to passe, aswell for the great depth thereof, as also by reason of the many trees, which are fallen there. The ground or bottome of them is sand: and those Lakes which we found in the Province of Apalachen, are much greater then all the other which we had found untill then. There are many fields of their Maiz in this Province: and the houses are scattered through the Plaine, like those of Gerbe. The beasts which we saw there are Deere of three sorts, Conies, Hares, Beares, and Lions, and other, among which we saw one, that carrieth her young in a bagge, which shee hath in her belly, where shee carrieth them all the time that they are little, untill they be able to goe, and seeke their meate themselves. And if by chance the young stand seeking food without the damme,

Lakes.

Beasts.

Beast which carrieth her yong in a bag.

and people come upon them, shee flyeth not before she have gathered them into her bagge. The Countrey is very cold there, and there are many good pastures for flockes. [IV. viii. 1503.]

There are also many sorts of Fowle, Goslings in great abundance, Geese, Duckes, Herons, Black-birds, and others of divers sorts, and there we saw many Falcons, Ger-falcons, Sparrow-hawkes, and many other sorts of Birds. *Fowles.*

Two dayes after we came to Apalachen, the Indians that were fled returned unto us in peace, demanding their children, and we gave them all, except one Cazique of theirs, whom the Governour retayned, which was the occasion to cause them to depart offended, who the day following returned as enemies, and assailed us with such fury and suddennesse, that they came to set fire to the house where we were: but so soone as wee came forth, they fled and retired themselves unto the Lakes, which were very neere thereunto. Whereupon by reason of them, and the Corne which was very thicke there, we could not doe them any hurt, save that we killed one man only. The day following, other Indians of another people, which was on the other side, came to us and assailed us after the same manner, that the other had done before, and fled likewise: and one of them also was slaine. We abode there five and twentie dayes, in the which we caused three to enter within the Land, and found it very poorely peopled, and hard travelling, in respect of the troublesome passages, Mountaynes and lakes which are there. Wee demanded of the Cazique whom wee had retayned, and of the other Indians whom wee had brought with us, who were borderers and enemies to them of Apalachen, the qualitie and condition of that Countrey, of the people, the victuall, and other things about it, who all plainly answered us, that the greatest people of all that Countrey, were they of Apalachen, and that further beyond it was without people, and very poore, that all that

Countrey, and theirs were ill peopled, and that the Inhabitants were much dispersed, and that going further forth, exceeding great Lakes are found, Mountaynes standing thicke together, and mighty Desarts, and without Inhabitants. Wee asked them of the Countrey which lay toward the South, what people and sustenance it had, who answered us, that going from thence towards the Sea nine dayes journey, were a people called Aute, and that the Indians of that place had much Maiz, and that there were small Pulse, which are like to our Ciches and Gourds, and that being so neere to the Sea, fish was there to be found: and that they were their friends.

Seeing the poverty of the Countrey, we agreed to depart from them, and goe to seeke out the Sea, and that people of Aute, whereof they told us. And so at the end of five and twenty dayes after we came thither, we departed. The first day we passed those Lakes and troublesome passages, without seeing any Indian. But the second day they came upon us, at a Lake which was very ill to passe: so that the water tooke us up to the breast, and many Trees were falne there, so that we being in the middest thereof, the Indians assayled us, they being hid behind the trees that we might not see them: and others were upon the trees that were falne, and beganne to shoote at us in such sort, that they wounded many men and horses, and tooke the guide from us which we had brought, they suddenly cast themselves into the Lakes and wounded fifteene men and horses. The Governour seeing this, commanded them on horsebacke to dismount, and *Indian fight.* assaile them on foot, and so they did, and the Auditor dismounted with them, and assayling them put them all to flight, so that they entred into a Lake, and thus wee gained the passage of them. In that skirmish some of our men (whose good armes they carried prevayled not) remayned wounded: and some of them swore, that they saw two Okes, each of them as great as a

mans legge, shot through from side to side with the Arrowes of the Indians. Which therefore is not a thing that wee should wonder at, seeing the force wherewith they deliver them, and I my selfe have seene an Arrow at the foot of an Elme, which entred an handfull in. *Strong archers.*

As many Indians as we saw in Florida, untill wee came to that place, are all Archers, tall of stature, and goe naked, and seeme to them that see them afarre off mighty Giants. They are marvellously well set, pleasant, and of much strength and agilitie. The Bowes they use are as thicke as a mans arme, of eleven or twelve spannes long, and they shoot two hundred paces off, and so straight and levell, that they never shoote and misse. Having got over that passage, about one league from thence, we came to another Lake of the same sort, save that it was halfe a league long, which was much worser then the former. This we quietly passed, and without disturbance of the Indians: because they having spent all the munition of their Arrowes, in that first assault, it remayned not in their power to be able to assault us afresh. The next day following going over another such passage, I who went in the Vantgard descryed the Savage people, and gave intelligence to the Governour who came in the Rereward; and so going well ordered and provided, they could not offend us, and as soone as we were come forth into the Plaine, they came alwayes following us. Whereupon turning about and dividing our selves into two parts, we slue two of them. Avellaneda turning about ranne to helpe his boy, the Indians smote him with an Arrow on the side of the Cuiras, and the stroke was such, that the whole Arrow almost went through behind the head, so that he suddenly dyed, and we carried him dead unto Aute. We came to Aute, the ninth day after our departure from Apalachen: and found all the people of that place fled, having burned their houses. There we found much Maiz and Gourdes, *Men of tall stature, good archers.*

[IV. viii. 1504.] and certaine Pulse which were then readie to be gathered. So we reposed our selves two dayes there, and after the Governour prayed me, that I would goe to discover the Sea, seeing the Indians said, it was so neere, and we also had discovered it as we went, by a very great River, which wee found by the way: and called it the River of Madalena. I was sent to discover the Sea. The day following we departed from Aute, and marched all that day untill wee came where I had beene before: the way was very troublesome, because the Horses were neither able to carrie them that were feeble, nor knew we what remedy to take, because they were every day worse then other. Having prooved many remedies, we all agreed in one judgement, to put a very hard thing in execution, and that was to make Boats for us to goe from thence. It seemed a thing impossible to all, because some of us knew not how to make them, and wee had neither Iron Tooles, nor Forge, nor Ockam, Pitch, nor Ropes, nor finally, any thing of so many, which were needfull in such an exercise: and above all, we had not provision of victuall for so long time while they should be made. The day following it pleased God, that one of our men came, who said, that hee would make certaine Pipes of wood, and that with the skinnes of wild beasts, certaine Bellowes should bee made to blow. And finding us at a time, wherein what thing soever he would, which had the least colour, or shadow of remedie, seemed sufficient: we said, that he should make them, and so we agreed, that of the Stirrops, Spurres and Crosse-bowes, and other things of Iron which were among us, Nayles, Sawes and Hatchets should be made; and other Tooles of Iron, seeing they were so needfull. And we tooke for remedie, to have some food while this should be put in execution, that foure entries should be made into Aute, with all the Horse, and others that could goe thither, and that every third day one Horse should be killed, to be divided among

The River Madalena.

Hard shift.

them that wrought in the making of the Boates, and them that were sicke. The entries were made with as many men and horses, as was possible, who brought thence about foure hundred Staras of Maiz, although not without controversie and contention, with those Indians. We caused many Palmiti also to be gathered, that with the woolley part and barke thereof, twisting and drawing them in length we might be able to use them in stead of Ockam for the Boats.

And we used so great diligence therein, that beginning the fourth of August, the twentieth of September next five Boates were finished, of two and twenty Cubits apiece, and we stopped the chinkes, and calking with Ockam of the Palmiti; and pitched them with a certaine Gumme, which a Grecian called Don Theodoro, brought from certaine Pine-trees, and with the same barke of the Palmiti, and of the traines, and haire of Horses we made cordage and tackling, and made sayles of our shirts, and of the Savine trees which were there, we made such Oares as we thought necessary: and such was that Countrey, whereinto our sinnes conducted us, that no stones were found there, to ballast the Boates, nor saw wee any throughout all that Countrey. Wee likewise flayed the whole legges of horses, and sewed the skinne together, to make bottles to carrie water. In this meane time, some of our men went to gather Tamarindi in the strond of the Sea, where the Indians at two severall times wherein they incountred them, slue ten Christians, so neere to our Tents, that we saw them, and could not helpe them, and found them shot through from side to side, with Arrowes, so that although our men had excellent Armour, they were not able to resist their strokes, those Indians shooting with such dexteritie and force, as aforesaid. And our Pilots said and swore, that from the flat shoare which we called by the name of the Crosse, unto this place, we had gone about two hundred and fourescore leagues, little more or lesse, and in all that Countrey we saw no

Ockam of Palmiti.

No stones.

Strong shot.

Crosse shoare.

Mountaines, nor had any notice by any meanes, that there were any, and before that we imbarked, besides those which the Indians had slaine, there were more then forty other men dead through sicknesse and famine.

Miserable successe of the Spaniards in this Voyage.

The two and twentieth day of September, they ceased to eate horses, so that only one remayned, and on that day wee imbarked in this order. In the Governours Boate went nine and fortie men, and in the other which hee gave to the Auditour and Commissary, went as many more. The third, he gave to Captaine Alonzo del Castiglio, and Andrea Durante, with eight and forty men, and another he gave unto two other Captaines, the one called Telles, and the other Pigualosa, with seven and forty men, and the fift he gave to the Controuler and mee, with nine and forty men. And after the victuals and furniture, and other things were shipped, they arose no more then a fourth part above the water, and beside this we were so streighted, that we could not guide nor turne in the Boats. Necessitie was so powerfull, that it made us adventure to goe in this manner, and commit our selves unto so dangerous a Sea, without having any one among us, who knew the art of Navigation.

Spiaggia de Cavalli.

That flat shoare from whence we departed, is called the shoare of the Horses, and we went seven dayes through those gulfes with the water up to the girdle, without seeing any signe of the Coast: and at the end of those seven dayes, we arrived at an Iland which standeth neere unto the Land. My Boat went before, and we saw five Canowes of Indians comming, who forsooke them all, and left them in our hands seeing us come towards them. Our other Boates went before, and lighted upon certaine houses in the same Iland, where they found many of their Egges and Thorn-back were dry, and greatly releeved us in the necessitie wherein we were.

[IV. viii. 1505.] After this, we went further, and two leagues from thence we passed a Strait which that Iland maketh with

the Land, and called it the Strait of Saint Michael, because we passed it upon that holy day. Being gotten out of that Strait, wee arrived at the Coast, wherewith the five Canowes which I had taken from the Indians, we remooved some things out of our Boats, making them fast and joyning them to ours, so that they arose two handfuls above water, and therewithall we turned to goe along the Coast by the way of the River of Palmes, thirst and famine alwayes increasing: because the victuals were very scant, and almost at an end, and we wanted water, because the bottles which we had made of the skinnes of horses, became suddenly putrified and mustie, and were good for nothing, and many times wee entred into certaine gulfes and flat shoares, which went farre within the Land, and found them all shallow and dangerous. And so we went thirty dayes, and sometimes found some Indian fishers, a poore and miserable people: and at the end of these thirty dayes, when our necessitie for want of water, was extreame, going to the Coast, one night we perceived a Canow comming, and seeing her wee expected that she would have arrived; but although we called unto her she would not come nor behold us, and because it was night we followed her not, but held on our course. When day began to appeare, we saw a small Iland, and went thither to see if wee could find any water there, but wee laboured in vaine because there was none. While wee stayed there, a mightie tempest arose upon us, whereupon we abode there sixe dayes, not daring to put out to Sea againe, and having passed five dayes without drinking, our thirst was so great, that we were forced to drinke the Sea-water, and some dranke so largely that five of our men dyed suddenly. We went out the same way, which we had seene the Canow goe, the night before we departed thence. This day we saw ourselves many times drowned, and so cast away, that there was none of us, who did not assure himselfe of death. But it pleased our Lord God, who in the greatest necessities

The Strait of Saint Michael.

R. of Palmes.

Miserable thirst.

useth to shew his favour, that about Sunne set we weathered a point which the Land maketh, where wee found it very calme and quiet. Heere many Canowes came towards us, and the Indians that were in them, spake unto us, and without wondring at us returned. They were a people of a great bodie and well set, and carried neither Bowes nor Arrowes. Some of us followed them unto their houses, which stood neere unto the water side, and leaped aland, and before the entrances of the houses, we found many pots of water, and great quantitie of fish, and the Lord of that Countrey offered it all unto the Governour, and taking him by the hand, brought him to his house (their houses are of Mats very well made.) And after we entred into the house of their Cazique or Lord, he gave us much fish, and we gave them bread of Corne which we brought, and they eat it in our presence, and demanded more, which we gave them, and the Governour gave the Cazique many small trifles, and abiding with him in his house, about halfe an houre within night, the Indians assaulted us, and the rest of our men, who road very ill, beeing cast upon that Coast, they assaulted also the house of the Cazique where the Governour was, and with a stone smote him on the face: and tooke the Cazique. But he having his men so neere escaped away, and left a Mantle of his of the skinnes of the Martinet Sables, which in my judgement are the best of all the World, and have a scent whereunto the scent of Ambergrise, and Muske is not comparable: and the scent thereof was smelt very farre off. We saw also other but none like unto that.

Rich Furres & sweete Mardole Zibelline.

Now seeing the Governour wounded, we set him aboord, and caused him to bring with him the greater part of the men unto the Boats: and fifty of our men only remayned on land, to fight with the Indians, who that night assaulted us three times, and with so great violence, that every time they made us retyre a stones cast, so that there was not one of our men, that was not wounded.

After this we returned to imbarke our selves, and sayled three dayes: and having taken a little water, as much as the few vessels we had were able to carrie, wee returned to fall into the same necessitie wherein we were first. And going on our Voyage, we entred into a Strait, where abiding we saw a Canow of the Indians comming, and as we called unto them, they came, and the Governour to whose Boat they were neerest, demanded water of them, who offered it him if he would give them vessels wherein to carrie it: so a Greeke Christian, called Theodoro, of whom mention is made before, said that he would goe with them. And although the Governour, and many other laboured to disswade him, yet he would needs goe thither, and carried a Negro with him, and the Indians left for hostages two of their men.

Those Indians returned in the Evening, and brought us our vessels without water, but brought not our two Christians againe: and those two men of theirs, who remayned for pledges, as soone as they spake unto them, would have cast themselves into the water, but our men who had them in the Boat held them, and so the other Indians fled and left us much confounded and sorrowful, for the two Christians which we had lost.

The morning following, many other Canoas of the Indians came unto us, demanding their two companions which they left us for hostages. The Governour answered, that he would give them unto them, so that they would restore us our two Christians. Five, or sixe Lords came with those people, and it seemed to us, that they were of a very good disposition, and of greater authority, and retinue, then all the rest wee had found hitherto, although they were not of so tall a stature as the other before mentioned. They wore their haire loose, and very long, and were covered with mantles of Martinets, of the same sort whereof we spake before, and some of them were made of a very strange fashion, having certaine laces of the worke of Lions skinnes,

Description of these Indians.

[IV. viii. 1506.]

which seemed very faire. They prayed us, that we would goe with them, and they would give us our two Christians, and water, and many other things: and many Canoas came continually upon us, endeavouring to take the mouth of that passage, and so therefore, because the place was very dangerous, we went out to Sea, where we stayed with them untill noone. But, not being willing to restore our Christians, and therefore we also would not restore their two hostages, they began to cast stones at us with slings: making shew also that they would shoot at us, although we saw not above three or foure Bowes among them. And while wee continued thus: a fresh gale of winde beganne to blowe, and they went their way. So we sayled all that day untill the evening, at what time my Boate that went before, discovered a point which the Land made, and at the other end I saw a River: then I anchored at a small Iland, which maketh that point, to stay for the other Boats. The Governour would not come neere it, but put into a flat shoare very neere thereunto, where many small Ilands were, and there wee all met together, and tooke fresh water within the Sea, because the River ranne into the Sea continually, and with great violence. And that wee might bee able to bake a little Maiz which wee brought, because for two dayes before, we had eaten it raw, we went aland on that Iland, but finding no wood there, we agreed to goe unto the River, which was behind the Point one league from thence. And as *Current.* wee went, the current of the River was so great, that by no meanes it suffered us to arrive, but drove us backe from the Land.

§. II.

Misery pursues them at Sea, and betrayes them to the Indians: their miserable lives and death.

WEe sayled foure dayes, every one eating halfe a handfull of raw Maiz a day by ratement. At the end of these foure dayes, a tempest tooke us, which made us recover the Boat of Captaine Telles, and through the great mercy which God shewed to some of us, we were not wholly drowned. And being Winter, and exceeding cold, and so many dayes wherein we had sustained hunger, with many blowes which wee received from the Sea, the day following the men began very much to faint, in such manner, that when the Sunne went downe, all those that were in my Boat, were fallen one upon the other, so neere unto death, that few of them had any sense, and among all them there were not five that could stand on their feete, and when night came there remained no more but the Master and my selfe, that could mannage the Boat, and two houres within night the Master said unto mee, that I should take charge of my Boat, because he was in such case, that he held it for certainty, that hee should die that night. And so I tooke the rudder, and midnight being past, I went to see if the Master were dead, who said unto me, that suddenly he was better, and that hee would guide the Boat untill day. Then surely I found my selfe in such state, that much more willingly I would have received death, then see so many men before me in that manner wherein they were: and after the Master tooke charge of the Boat I rested my selfe a little, but very unquietly, because at that time nothing was further from me then sleepe. And about the morning me thought that I heard the noise and roaring of the Sea, because being a very lowe Coast it raged much, whereupon when I heard this, I called to

the Master, who answered me, that he supposed we were now neere unto the Land; and sounding, we found our selves in seven fathome, and he thought it fit, that we should abide at Sea untill the day appeared. And so I tooke an Oare and rowed to the Lands side, which we found one league distant, and put the stearne to the Sea. And being neere to the Land, a wave tooke us, which cast the Boat backe againe into the Sea as farre as a man might well fling a stone, and with the great blowe which it gave, almost all the men who remained there as dead, received their senses againe, and seeing us so neere unto the Land, beganne to arise and goe on their hands and feete. And having landed, wee made fire in certaine trenches, and boyled some of the Maiz which wee had brought, and found raine-water: and with the heate of the fire, the men beganne to recover and take strength: and the day that we arrived there, was the sixth of November.

After the men had eaten, I commanded Lopez de Oviedo, who was the best able, and strongest of all the rest, that he should goe close to any tree of them that were there at hand, and climing up into one of them, he should discover the Land where we were, and see if hee could have any knowledge thereof. He did so, and saw that we were in an Iland, and found certaine poore Cottages of the Indians, which stood solitary, because those Indians were gone unto the field. And so he tooke a pot, a young whelpe, and a little Thorn-backe, and returned unto us. About halfe an houre after, an hundred Indian Archers came suddenly upon us, who though they were great, yet feare made them seeme to be Giants: and they stood round about us, where the first three were. It had beene a vaine thing amongst us to thinke that there were any to defend us, because there were scarce sixe that were able to rise from the ground. The Controller and I came towards them, and called unto them, and they came neere unto us, and wee endeavoured the best we could, to secure them; so we gave them

[IV. viii. 1507.]

Crownes and Bells, and every one of them gave mee an Arrow, which is a token of friendship, and they told us by signes that they would returne unto us in the morning, and bring us somewhat to eate, because at that time they had nothing.

The next morning at the breake of day, which was the houre whereof the Indians had spoken, they came unto us, and brought us much fish, and certaine Roots which they eate, and are like unto Nuts, some bigger, and some lesse, which they digge under the water with much trouble. At the evening they returned againe, and brought us more fish, and some of the same Roots, and brought also their wives and little children with them that they might see us: and so they returned rich in Crownes and Bells which we gave them, and the next day they returned to visite us with the same things, which they had done before.

Then seeing we were now provided of fish, of those roots, and water, and other things which we could get, we agreed to embarke our selves, and proceed on our Voyage: so wee digged the Boat out of the sand, where it was fast moored, and were constrained to strippe our selves naked, and indured great labour to launch her into the water. Being embarked, about two Cros-bow shots within the Sea, there came such a wave of water that it washed us all, and being naked, and the cold extreme, wee let goe the Oares, and another blowe which the Sea gave us, overturned the Boat, whereupon the Controller and two other went out to escape by swimming: but the cleane contrary befell them, because the Boat strucke them under water, and drowned them. That Coast being very faire, the Sea cast us all aland on the same Coast, all tumbled in the water, and halfe drowned, so that we lost not a man, but those three, whom the Boat smote under water. Wee which remained alive were all naked, having lost all that which wee had, which although it were but a little, yet was it much for us at that time: and being then November, and the cold very extreme, and being in such case, that a man might easily tell all our bones, we seemed to

Three drowned.

be the proper and true figure of Death. As for my selfe, I am well able to say, that from the moneth of May past, I had not eaten any other thing then parched Maiz, and sometimes I was in so great necessitie, that I have eaten it raw, because although the Horses were killed while they made the Boats, yet I could never eate them, and I did not eate fish ten times. I speake this, that every one might consider, how we could continue in that case, and above all, the North wind blew that day, so that we were neerer unto death, then life. It pleased God, that seeking the brands of the fire which we had made before wee embarked, wee found light there, and so making great fires, we stood craving mercy from our Lord God, and pardon of our sinnes, with many teares, every one of us grieving not onely for himselfe, but for all the rest, that hee saw in the same state. At the setting of the Sunne, the Indians supposing that we had not beene gone, came to finde us, and brought us somewhat to eate, but when they saw us thus, in so differing an habite from the first, and in such strange manner, they were so afraid, that they turned backe againe: but I went towards them, and called them, who beheld mee with much feare. Hereupon I gave them to understand by signes, that the Boat was cast away, and three men drowned, and there they themselves saw two dead, and the rest of us that were now remayning were going the high way to death.

Humanitie of Savages.

The Indians seeing the misfortune which had befallen us, and the lamentable case wherein we were, with so great calamitie and miserie, came amongst us, and through great griefe and compassion which they had of us, beganne mightily to weepe and lament, and that from the heart, insomuch that they might be heard farre from thence, and they thus lamented more then halfe an houre. And surely, seeing these men so deprived of reason, and so cruell after the manner of brute beasts, so bewayled our miseries, it caused that in me, and all the rest of our men, the compassion and consideration of our miseries should be much more increased. The mournfull lamentation being some-

what appeased, I demanded of the Christians, whether they thought it fit, that I should intreate those Indians to bring us to their houses, whereunto some of them that were of Nova Spagna, answered me, that I should not speake a word thereof, because if they brought us home to their houses, they would have sacrificed us to their Idols. Now seeing there was no other remedie, and that, what other way soever, death was more certaine and more neere, I cared not for that which they said, but prayed the Indians, that they would bring us to their houses, and they shewed us, that it pleased them very well, and that wee should tarrie a little, and they would doe as much as wee desired, presently thirty of them laded themselves with wood, and went unto their houses, which were farre from thence: and wee remained with the rest, untill it was almost night, and then they tooke us, and conducting us, we went with much anguish and heavinesse unto their houses. And because they feared lest through the extreme coldnesse of the way any of us should die, or swound and faint, they had provided, that by the way foure or five great fires should bee made, some small space distant each from other, and at every one of them they warmed us, and when they saw that we had taken a little strength and heate, they brought us to another, with so great care, that they did not so much as suffer us to set our feete on the ground, and after this manner we were brought unto their houses: where we found that they had provided an house for us, & many fires therein, and about one houre after we were come thither, they beganne to dance and rejoyce, which continued all the night. Although amongst us there was neither joy nor sleepe, expecting when they would have sacrificed us. In the morning they returned to give us fish, and rootes, and used us so well, that wee somewhat assured our selves, and lost some part of the feare of sacrificing. [IV. viii. 1508.]

In those dayes wherein wee abode there, I saw a small Net, with one of those Indians, and knew that it was not any of them which wee gave them, and demanding whence

they had it, they answered me by signes, that other men, such as we were, gave it them, who abode behind that place. I seeing this, sent two Christians, and two Indians, to shew them those men, and being gone, they met with them very neere, who came to seeke us out, because the Indians of those places had told them of us. These men were Captaine Andrea Dorante, and Alonso del Castiglio, with all the men of their Boat. And being come unto us, they were afraid to behold us in that manner wherein we were, and were very sorrowfull that they had not any thing to give us, because they had no other garments, then those which they wore. And they abode there with us, and told us, how on the fift day of that same moneth, their Boat had crossed over, one league and an halfe from thence, and that they had escaped without losing any thing.

Wee all agreed together, to trimme that Boat of theirs, and that all such as had strength, and abilitie to doe it, should goe therein, and that the rest should remaine there untill they recovered: and that when they were able, they should goe along the Coast, and waite there till God should conduct them with the rest of us unto a Land of the Christians. And as we determined, so wee did, and before we lanched the Boat into the water, Tavera an Horseman of our companie died: and the Boat which we thought should carrie us, she also made her end, and was not able to uphold her selfe, but was suddenly drowned. Whereupon being in that manner aforesaid, and naked, and the weather so unseasonable to travell, and passe over Rivers and Gulfes by swimming, and having no victuall, or any sustenance, nor meanes to carrie them, we determined to doe that which necessitie and force compelled us unto, that is to say, to winter there. And wee likewise agreed, that foure of our lustiest and strongest men should goe to Panuco, supposing it neere unto that place. And that if it should please our Lord God, that they arrived there, they should give intelligence that we were there, and tell them of our necessitie and miseries. They who went were very great swimmers, the one was

Panuco.

called Alnaro Ferrante, a Portugall, who was a Carpenter, and a Mariner, the second was called Mendos, and the third Figeroa a native of Toledo, and the fourth was borne in Zaffra, and they carried an Indian with them of the Iland of Avia.

These foure Christians being departed, within few dayes after there came such unseasonable weather of cold and tempests, that the Indians could not finde the roots, and out of the channels where they were wont to fish, they digged no fruit at all, and things falling out so unhappily, many people began to die: and five Christians who were in Xamo, upon that Coast, came to such extremitie, that they eate one another, untill there remained but one onely, because there was none to eate him. Their names are these Siera, Diego Lopez, Corral, Palatio, Gonzalo Ruis. The Indians were so altered through this accident, and tooke so great an offence, that without doubt, if they had knowne it in the beginning, they would have killed them all, so that all wee had beene in very great danger. Finally, in a small time, of fourescore men (which wee were in all) there remained onely fifteene. After this mortalitie, a certaine infirmitie of the stomacke happened to the Indians, through the which halfe of them died, and they beleeved that wee were the men that killed them: and holding it for an assured truth, they contended among themselves to kill all those few of us that were remaining: and now comming to put it in execution, an Indian which I had, said unto them, that they should not beleeve that we were those that killed them; for if we had such power, we would have procured, that so many men of our owne should not have died, which they had seene dead, without any abilitie of ours to remedie and helpe them, and that now wee were very few remaining, whereof none had done them any prejudice or harme: wherefore it were better that they suffer us to live. Thus it pleased our Lord God, that the rest followed his counsell and judgement, and so ceassed from that purpose. Wee called this Iland the Iland of Malhado.

The Christians eate one another, for hunger.

Indian sicknesse and mortalitie.

Iland Malhado.

The people which wee found there, are of a great stature, and well set, and have no other weapons but Bowes and Arrowes, with the which they are exceeding readie and quicke. The men have one of their paps pierced from the one side to the other, and there are some who have them both pierced, and in the hole which they make, they carrie a Cane acrosse, of the length of two spannes and an halfe and two fingers thicke. They likewise have the nether lippe bored, and within the same they carrie a piece of a thin Cane, about halfe a finger thicke. The women indure much drudgerie and labour. The habitation which they make in that Iland, is from October untill the end of Februarie, and their food is the rootes aforesaid, digged under water in November and December. They have Weares, but have no fish but at this time, and before that they eate roots. At the end of Februarie they goe into other Parts to seeke food: because the roots beginne then to growe, and are not very good. This Nation, above all other parts of the world, love their children, and use them best. And when it happeneth that any one of their children dieth, the father, mother, and kindred, with all the people lament him, and the mourning and lamentation, continueth one whole yeere, so that every day before the Sunne ariseth, the parents beginne first to lament, and after them all the people, and they doe the same at noon, and in the morning: and the yeere being ended, they accomplish their Funerals, and honourable rites of Buriall, which they performe unto the dead: and then they wash themselves, and shift all the apparell which they wore. They bewayle all their dead in this manner, except the aged, whom they esteeme not, for, say they, that they have now passed their time, and are no more good for any thing, but occupie the earth, and take away the maintenance from Infants and little children. They use to bury the dead, unlesse they be such as are Physicians among them, whom they burne, and while the fire flameth they stand all dancing with great joy, and make powder

Pierced paps, with canes for gallantry.

The Indians poore life.

[IV. viii. 1509.]

Mourning for children.

Age disesteemed.

Physicians burned.

of the bones: and when the yeere is past, wherein they performe the honourable rites, unto their dead, they all tumble, and wallow upon the earth, and give that powder of the bones to the kinsfolke, to drinke in water. Every one have their proper and peculiar wives. The Physicians are they that have most libertie, who may keepe two or three wives, and among them there is great friendship and conformitie. When any marrieth his daughter, hee that taketh her, bringeth unto the wife, whatsoever he taketh by hunting or fishing, even unto the day wherein he is espoused unto her, who carrieth it unto the house of the father, without daring to take or eate any thing thereof: and afterward they bring food to the house of the father-in-law for him to eate, and in all this time, neither father-in-law nor mother-in-law enter into their house, nor are they to enter into their house, nor the houses of their kindred. And if by chance they meete each other in the way, they goe a Cros-bow shot off one from the other, and so long time as they thus goe farre off, they hang downe their heads, and cast their eies on the ground; for they hold it a wicked and an evill thing to be seene, and to be spoken unto. The women have libertie to converse with the fathers-in-law, and other kinsfolke: and they of that Iland have this custome more then fiftie leagues within the Land.

Filthie and foolish customes.

They have another custome, and that is this, that when any of their brethren or children die, for three moneths they provide nothing to eate for them of the house where they died, but let them die through hunger, if the kinsfolke and neighbours provide them not somewhat to eate. Whereupon, at the time that we were there, many people dying, there was very great famine. In the most part of the houses, because they strictly observe their customes and ceremonies: and they who provided food for them, it being a very hard time, could finde but a little. And upon this occasion, those Indians that had mee went out of the Iland, and in their Canoas passed over unto the firme Land, unto certaine flat

shoares, where they had many Oysters: and for three moneths in the yeere they eate no other thing, and drinke very bad water. They have great scarcitie of wood, and great multitudes of Flies: their houses are made of mats spread upon the shells of Oysters, and over them they sleepe upon the hides of beasts, which yet they have not but by a chance. And so we continued untill the middle of Aprill, that wee went to the Sea-coast, where wee eate Mulberries all that moneth, wherein they end their sports, and festivall jollitie.

They are made Physicians.

In that Iland whereof I have spoken, they would make us Physicians, without examining us, or demanding the titles of our profession, and because they heale the infirmitie with blowing upon the diseased, and cure them with that, and with their hands: they would that wee also should doe the like, and serve them in any thing whatsoever. But wee laughed thereat, saying it was a jest and mockery, and that wee knew not how to heale, whereupon they tooke away our food, untill we did that which they said. And seeing our unbeliefe, an Indian said unto me, that I knew not what I said, because stones and herbes that growe in the fields have vertue, and that he with an hot stone, laying it upon the stomacke, cured the paine: and that wee who are men, must of a certaintie have greater vertue, then all other things of the world. In the end, seeing our selves in so great necessitie we were constrained to doe it, yet not hoping to helpe any at all: the manner and meanes which they observe in curing is this, that seeing themselves sicke they send for the Physitian, to whom (after they are cured) they give all that they have; and besides procure other things from their kindred to give them. The cure which the Physitians doe unto them, is to cut certaine gashes where the disease or griefe is, and sucke it round about. They seare it also with fire, which among them is held a verie profitable thing, and I have proved it and it succeeded well. After this, blowing in the place where the griefe is, they suppose the disease thereby to

Learned argument.

Manner of curing.

be removed. The meanes whereby we cured them, was to blesse them and blow upon them, and say a Pater noster and an Ave Mary, and pray the best we could unto our Lord God, that he would give them their health, and put it into their hearts to use us well. It pleased his mercy that all they for whom he praied, as soone as wee had blessed and hallowed them, said unto the rest that they were sound and well: and for this they used us verie curteously and left eating themselves to give it unto us, and gave us skins and other trifling things. The famine was so exceeding great in that place, that many times I continued three dayes without eating any thing at all, and so did they also, insomuch as I thought it impossible to bee able to live: although afterward, I found my selfe in farre greater famine and necessitie, as I shall hereafter speake. [IV. viii. 1510.]

The Indians who had Alonso del Castiglio, and Andrea Dorante and the rest that remayned alive: being of another Language, and other parentage, passed over to another part of the firme Land, to eate Oysters where they abode untill the first day of Aprill, and presently after they returned unto an Iland neere unto it about two leagues, for that it yeelded more water, and the Iland is halfe a league over and five in length. All the people of that Countrey goe naked, and the women only have some parts of their bodie covered with a certaine kind of Cotton which they gather from certaine trees, and the Damsels cover themselves with the skinnes of wild beasts. The people differ much one from another in their Garments. There is not any Lord or Cazique among them, and all they who are of one Family and stocke goe together. Two sorts of Languages dwell there, one of them that are called Capoques, and the other Han: they have a custome, that if at any time they see such as they know, they stand halfe an houre lamenting, before they speake: and after that, he that is visited ariseth first and giveth unto the other whatsoever hee possesseth, and he receiveth it: and a little *Lamentable salutations.*

after he goeth away with that Garment, and sometimes after they have received it, they depart without speaking a word.

After Dorante and Castiglio returned to the Iland, they gathered together all the Christians, who were somewhat dispersed, and found them fourteene in all. I (as I said) abode on the other side in the mayne Land, whither my Indians had brought me, and where a great sicknesse tooke me. Now when the Christians knew that, they gave the Mantle of Martinets (which wee had taken from the Cazique as aforesaid) unto an Indian that he might bring them where I was, to see me: and so twelve of them came, because the other two were so weake, that they feared to bring them with them. And when they were come to the firme Land, they found another of our men, called Francesco del Leon. All these thirteene went along the Coast, and as soone as the Indians who kept me were gone, they advised mee, and told mee that Jeronimo d' Alaniz, and Lope d' Oviedo, were yet remayning in that Iland. My infirmitie hindered mee that I could not follow them, and so I saw them not otherwise, and I was of necessitie to stay with those same Indians of the Iland more then a yeere. But by reason of the great travell and paines whereunto they put me, as also their evill usage of me, I determined to flye from thence, and passe over unto them, who abide in the Mountaines and firme Land, whom they call the Indians of Carruco, because I could not indure the life, which I led with the other. For among many other painfull labours, I was compelled to digge Roots under the water, and among the Canes where they grew under the ground. And herewith I had my fingers so spoyled, that a straw that should have touched me, would have drawne bloud: and the Canes being full of splinters tare mee in divers parts, among which I was to goe with the Garment aforesaid, which I wore. Whereupon I endevoured to goe from thence unto those other, and with them I continued somewhat better. And because

The Indians of Carruco.

I made my selfe a Merchant, I was carefull to performe that office with the best knowledge I had. And for this cause they gave mee food, and used mee well, and prayed mee to goe from place to place for such things as they needed, because in respect of the Warres which they continually make among themselves, there is neither travelling, nor much trading among them: so that now with my trafficke and Merchandise, I went throughout the whole Countrie as farre as I would, and travelled along the Coast, fortie or fiftie leagues. The principall trafficke I had, were pieces of shels of the Sea, and their hides, and shels wherewith they knit a certaine fruit like unto Beech mast, with the which they provide for their dancings and festivall sports: and this is the greatest thing of price among them, and crownes of the Sea, and such other like things. And this is that which I carried within Land, I afterward carried hides in exchange, and red Ocre with the which they anoint and die their faces, and their haire: I also carried flint stones to make Arrow heads and Glue, and stiffe Canes to make Arrowes: and certaine stockes which they make of Deeres haire so died, that it remayneth coloured. And this office greatly availed me, because I had libertie to goe whither I would, and was not bound to doe any thing, for I was not a slave, and whithersoever I went they used mee well, and gave mee somewhat to eate in respect of my Merchandize, but that which most imported mee, was, that going thus I searched, and saw how I might goe further: and among them I was very well knowne. And such as knew mee not desired my company, and procured meanes to know mee for the fame which I had among them. I continued about six yeeres with them in that Countrie alone, and naked as they all goe.

I got Lope de Oviedo to travell with me to seeke out the Christians: but hearing by the Indians that only three were left of our company, he left me: and I remained alone with those Indians, who were called Quevenes, and they with whom Lope went, were called *Quevenes and Dragnanes, Indians.*

Dragnanes. Two daies after Lope de Oviedo was gone, the Indians who kept Alonso del Castiglio, and Andrea Dorante came unto the place, as those other Indians had foretold us to eate of certaine Nuts wherewith they maintaine themselves, grinding certaine graines with them two monethes in the yeere, without eating any other thing; although they have them not every yeere, because some yeeres they grow, and some not. They are of the bignesse of those of Galitia, and the trees are very great, and are there in great number. Being now neere unto the place where they lodged, Andrea Dorante came forth to see who it was, because the Indians had now told him that a Christian was come. And as soone as he saw me, he remained much astonished, because they supposed I had beene long since dead, for so the Indians told them. Wee gave God heartie thankes to see one another, and that day was one of them, wherein wee had the greatest joy and pleasure in our lives.

[IV. viii. 1511.]

And after comming where Castiglio was, they asked mee whether I would goe, I answered, that my purpose was to passe into the Land of the Christians, and that I went seeking and searching how I might doe it. Andrea Dorante answered, that long since hee intreated Castiglio and Estevamico, that we might go further, but they durst not venture to do it, because they could not swimme, and greatly feared the Rivers and Gulfes which they were to passe over, there being many in those Countries. Wherefore seeing it had pleased our Lord God to preserve mee among so many dangers and diseases, and in the end to bring mee into their company, they determined to flie, and that I should carrie them over the Rivers and Gulfes which wee found. And they advertized mee, that by no meanes, I should let the Indians know that I would goe further, because they would presently kill me, and that for this cause I was of necessitie to stay with them sixe monethes, which was the time in the which those Indians went into another Countrie to eate Tune.

These Tune are certaine Fruits of the bignesse of an Egge, red and blacke, and of a very good taste. They eate them three monethes in the yeere, wherein they eate no other thing, and because at the time when they gathered them, other Indians beyond would come with Bowes to contract and barter with them, we (when they returned) might escape from our Indians, and goe with them. With this determination I remained there, and yeelded my selfe a slave unto an Indian, with whom Dorante abode. *Tune, fruits of India.*

These Indians are called Mariane, and Castiglio remained with other of their Neighbours, called Iguales. And while we continued there, they reported unto mee, that after they were come out of the Iland of Malhado upon the Sea Coast, they found the Boat wherein the Auditor and the Friers crossed over, and that passing those Rivers which are foure, and very great: the many currents tooke the Boat wherewith they went to Sea, and foure of them were drowned, the rest with much labour passed the Gulfe: and that fifteene leagues further they found another, and as soone as they met together there, two of their companions died in the time that they had travelled sixtie leagues, and that all the rest were yet at the point of death, and that all that journie they had eaten nothing but Crevises and Herbs of the wall, and comming to this last Gulfe, they said, that they found Indians who stood eating of Mulberies, who when they saw the Christians they went unto the other end, and so they standing still and devising meanes to passe the Gulfe, an Indian and a Christian came unto them, and being come, they knew it was Figheroa, one of the foure we had sent before from the Iland of Malhado, who recounted unto them in what manner he and his companions came to that place where two of them and one Indian died all through cold and famine, because they were come thither in the hardest time of the yeere: and that the Indians had taken Figheroa himselfe and Mendes, which *Marianes.* *Iguabes.*

Mendes fled afterwards, travelling the best hee could towards Panuco; and that the Indians followed after him and slue him. And that abiding thus with those Indians, hee understood that with the Marianes there was a Christian, who had passed to the other side, and he found him with them whom they call Quevenes. Which Christian was Gernando d' Esquivel, a Native of Badajoz, who came in the company of the Commissary, and that from Esquivell, hee understood what end the Governour had, together with the Auditor and the rest: telling them how the Auditor and the Friers had lanched their Boat into the Rivers, and comming along the Coast, the Governour landed his people, and went with his Boat untill they came unto that great Gulfe, where he turned to take in his men, and passe over to the other side, and returned for the Auditor and the Friers, and all the rest. And he declared, that being thus imbarked, the Governour revoked the authoritie of his Lieutenant, which the Auditor had, and gave that charge unto a Captaine that went with him, called Pantossa. And that the Governor stayed that night in his Boat, & would not come on Land, and the Master abode with him, and one Page who was not well, and they had neither water nor any thing to eate in the Boat: so about midnight so hard a gale of winde from the North tooke them, that it drove the Boat into the Sea before any one saw it, for he had nothing to releeve him but one flint stone, and they knew not that he had any other thing besides. And when the men who remained on the land saw this, they went along the Coast, and finding the water so rough, they made floats with much trouble and paines, and so passed over unto the other side. And going further they came to the point of an Hill at the water side, and found Indians there, who when they saw them comming, put their things into their Canowes, and passed over to the other side of the Coast. So the Christians seeing what the time was being in November,

abode in that Mountaine because they found water, wood, and certaine Crevises there, where through cold and famine, by little and little, they beganne to die. And beside this, Pantossa who remained Lieutenant, used them very ill, and not being able to indure it, the Sergeant Major Brother of Vasquez Porcalle, who [IV. viii. 1512.] came in the fleete from Cuba, Master of the Campe, revolted from Pantossa, and smote him with a piece of wood, with the which blow hee died, and such as died became the morsels of the other, and the last that died, was the Sergeant Major, and Esquivel did the like, and eating him, maintained himselfe untill the first of March, that an Indian one of them who fled from thence came to see if they were all dead, and after brought Esquivel away from thence with him, who being in subjection to this Indian Figheroa spake with him, and understood all this of him which wee have before declared, and prayed him to come with him, that they might goe together towards Pamico: but Esquivel would not doe it, saying, that hee understood by Friers that Pamico was behind them, and so he remained there, and Figheroa went to the Coast where he used to abide.

The Spaniards eate one another.

All this Figheroa reported unto us, by the relation which Esquivel made unto him, and so from hand to hand it came unto me. Whereby hee might see and know the end which all that fleete had, and the particular mischances which happened to everie one of the rest. And hee further said, that if the Christians at any time should goe through those parts, it might bee, that they should see Esquivel, because hee knew that hee was fled from that Indian with whom hee abode, unto the other which are called Marianes, who were their Neighbours. And so having ended his Discourse, he and Asturiano, were about to goe unto the other Indians that were further beyond, but those Indians who kept them perceiving them, went forth and came to give them many Bastinadoes, and spoiled Asturiano, and wounded him on the arme with an Arrow, but

yet in the end they fled, and the other Christians remained: and procured those Indians to take them for slaves, although abiding with them and serving them, they were as evilly intreated as ever any slaves were or other men of the World. Because of sixe which they were, not being contented continually to buffet, and cudgell them, and plucke off their beards with the skinne, only for their pastime and recreation and only for going from one house to another, they killed three, who are those of whom I spoke before, to wit, Diego Dorante, Valdeviesso, and Diego de Helva: and the other three that remained, expected that they also should make the like end, and not being able to indure that life, Andrea Dorantes fled to the Marianes, who were they with whom Esquivel abode, and they themselves reported that they had kept Esquivel there, who afterward would have fled, because a woman had dreamed that hee should kill a childe of hers: the Indians pursued him and slue him; and they afterward shewed Andrea Dorante his Sword, Crowne, Booke, and other things which he had.

A cruell custome of the Indians, who use to kill their male children while they sleep, and cast their female children (as soon as they are borne) to the dogges to eate them, because they would not marrie them to their enemies, nor to their kindred.

They have this custome also even to kill the same male children while they sleepe, and when the female children are borne, they leave them for the Dogs to eate, and cast them away in those places. And the reason why they doe it is this, because they say that all they of the Countrey are their enemies, and make very great warres with them. Wherefore if by chance they should marrie their Daughters, their enemies should be the more increased, who would subject them, and hold them all in captivitie. And for this cause, they would rather kill them, then have any borne of themselves to become their enemies. Wee demanded of them why they married them not among themselves, who answered, that it was a beastly thing to marrie them unto their kindred, and that it was much better to kill them, then give them for wives unto their kinsfolke and enemies. And they observe this custome,

and other of their Neighbours also called Iaguanes, and no other of that Countrie, but they observe the same. And when they take wives, they get the women of their enemies, and the price which they pay is the best Bow that they can get, with two Arrowes. And if peradventure they have not a Bow, they give a Net of the widenesse of a mans arme, and as much more in length. Dorante abode with them, and not long after fled from them. Castiglio and Estevamico came into the firme Land to the Iaguanes. All they are Archers, and well set, although they be not so great as the other which we left behind, and have all their paps and their lips pierced like them. Their food principally are roots of two or three sorts, which they seeke throughout the whole Countrie, which are very harsh and puffe up such as eat them. They stay two dayes to roast them, and many of them are very bitter, and withall they dig them with much paines, but the famine in those Countries is so great, that they cannot live without them: and they goe two or three leagues to seeke them. They sometimes kill any wilde beast whatsoever, and at certaine times take fish, but this is so little, and their hunger so great, that they eat Frogs, Ants Egs, Wormes, Lizards, Salamanders, Serpents and Vipers, which with their stinging kill men: they also eat earth, wood, and whatsoever they can get the dung of wild beasts, and other things which I leave to report, and I certainly beleeve, that if there were stones in that Country they would eat them. They keep the sharpe bones of fishes and Serpents, which they eat to grind them all afterwards, and so eate that powder. The men load not themselves nor carrie burdens, but the old men and women do all this, who are least esteemed among them, they beare no such love to their children as the other doe, whereof I have spoken before.

Penurious diet.

The Indians in this Province eate Serpents, Vipers, and other beastly things, by reason of the famine which continually is there.

Women.

There are some among them, who use that sinne which is against nature. Their women are very sufficient,

and able to indure labour, for of the foure and twentie houres of the day and night, they have but sixe houres of rest, and all the greater part of the night they spend in heating their Ovens, to dry those Rootes which they eate. And when the day beginneth to appeare, they beginne to draw water, and carrie wood unto their houses, and give order for other things which they want.

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Theeves.

The greater part of them are great Theeves, because although among them they are well divided, yet if the Father or the Sonne turne but their heads about, the one taketh from the other whatsoever he can get. They are great and monstrous Liers and great Drunkards, and for that purpose they drinke a certaine kind of drinke. They are so well used to runne, that without resting themselves, or standing still at all, they runne from Morning untill the Evening following a Deere, and in this manner they kill many, following them untill they tire them, and sometimes take them alive. Their houses are of Mats set upon foure Arches, and they take them up and remoove them, every two or three daies to seeke food. They sow nothing at all to be able to have fruit thereof, and are a very pleasant and cheerefull people, and notwithstanding the great hunger they indure, they cease not to dance and sport themselves.

Indians which runne a whole day to take a Deere, and tiring him with running, eftsoones take him alive in the chase.

Natures nurslings.

Dogs life.

Tune-time.

The best time which they have is when they eate Tune, because then they have no hunger, and passe all that time in dancing, and eate day and night all the time they have them. They wring them, open them, and set them to dry, and beeing thus dried they hang them up in Garlands like figges, and keepe them to eate by the way, when they returne thence: they also dry their Pils and make powder of them. Many times while we were with them, it so fell out, that we continued foure daies without eating any thing, because it was not there to be had; to make us merrie they told us, that wee should shortly have Tune, and should eate many of them and drinke their juice, and fill our bellies very well,

and that wee should be verie cheerefull and contented, and without any hunger. And when they told us this, it was five or sixe monethes to the time of Tune.

And when the time came, wee came to eate Tune, and by the way wee found many flies of three sorts, very mischievous and noisome, and all the rest of the Summer they put us to much trouble. And to defend us from them we made fires of rotten and moist wood, that it might not burne but make a smoake, but this defence put us to another trouble, for all the night wee did nothing else but complaine of the smoake which came into our eyes, and also of the great heate which the much fire gave us, and wee went out to sleepe by the side thereof, and if at any time we could sleepe, they remembred us with their bastinadoes to returne and make the fires burne. They who dwell further within the Land, use a remedie for these flies, as intollerable as this and worse, that is to say, they goe with fire-brands in their hands burning the Fields and the Woods wheresoever they meete with them, to make the flies to flie away: and so also they use to digge under the earth for Lizards, and other such like things to eate them, they use also to kill Deere, compassing them with many fires. Which they also doe to take away food from the beasts, that they might be constrained to goe from thence to find it, where they would have them. For they never settle themselves to dwell, but where wood and water are, and sometimes they load themselves all with this provision, and goe to seeke Deere, which (most commonly) abide where there is neither water nor wood: and the day they came thither they killed Deere, and some other hunting game such as they could get, and consumed all the water and wood in preparing them to be eaten, and in the fires which they made to hunt the flies, and tarried till the next day to take some thing to carrie with them by the way.

Flies troublesome.

Noisome remedie.

Deere haunt dry places to avoid Huntsmen.

When they depart they goe so miserably vexed with flyes, that they seeme to have the disease of Lazarus,

and in this manner they expell hunger two or three times in the yeere with so great paines as hath beene said: and because I have proved it, I dare affirme, that there is no travell in the World found like unto this.

Oxen of that Countrie.

They found Oxen there and I saw them three times, and eate of them: and (as I thinke,) they are of the bignesse of those of Spaine. They have little hornes like the Moresche cattle, and very long haire, and some of them are ash-colour, and others blacke, and in my judgement they have better haire and much thicker then those of our Countries. Of those which are not great, they make Garments to cover them, and of the greater they make shooes and Targets and these came from the North further through the Land unto the Coast of Florida, and extend themselves farre within the Land more then foure hundred leagues. And in all this way, through the Vallies by which they come, the people that dwell there, come downe and eat of them, and send great store of hides into the Countrie.

When the sixe moneths were ended, wherein I abode with the Christians, hoping to put the determination made betweene us in execution, the Indians went to eate Tune, which might bee some thirtie leagues from thence, and being now readie to flie from them, the Indians with whom we abode, fell at variance among themselves about a woman, and buffetted and beate her, and broke her head: and for the great hatred and anger they conceived, they tooke their houses, and every one went unto their place. Whereupon it was necessarie, that all the Christians who were there, should separate themselves with them, so that by no meanes wee could meet together againe untill the next yeere: and in this time I passed much miserie, as well for the great famine I indured, as for the evill usage, and bad entertainment those Indians gave mee which was such, that I was faine to flie three times from those Masters that kept me, who all came diligently to seeke me that they might kill me, but it pleased our Lord

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God, not to suffer them to find mee, and to preserve me from their hands through his infinite mercie.

As soone as the time of Tune returned, wee Christians found our selves together againe in the same place where we were before, and having now joyned together to flie from thence, and appointed the day, that very selfe same day the Indians separated us, and every one went unto their place, so I said unto the Christians, that I would expect them at the Tune, untill the Moone were full, and that day when I said this unto them, was the first of September, and the prime of the Moone. And further I assured them, that if they came not within that time, I would go thence alone and leave them. And so we separated our selves, and every man went with their Indians, and I stayed with mine untill the thirteenth of the Moone: and my determination was to flie thence unto the other Indians, when the Moone should be full. On the thirteenth of the said moneth, Andrea Dorante and Estevamico came unto me and told me, that they had left Castiglio with other Indians, whom they call Canagadi, who dwelt neere thereabout, and that they had passed many miseries, and had lost their way. And that the day before our Indians remooved from their place, and were gone towards the place where Castiglio abode to joyne themselves with them who kept him, and make themselves friends having beene enemies and at warres, even untill that day: and in this manner also we recovered Castiglio. In all the time that wee eate the Tune wee were thirstie and for remedie wee dranke the juice thereof, which wee powred in a trench which we made in the Earth, and when it was full, we dranke thereof untill we were satisfied: it is sweet and pleasant, and of the colour of new wine boyled, and this they doe because there are no other vessels there wherein to put it. There are many sorts of Tune, among which some are verie good, although all seemed good unto me, and hunger gave mee no time to bee able to make choice.

Canagadi Indians.

The greatest part of all this Nation drinke raine water, gathered together in certaine Trenches. For although they have Rivers there, neverthelesse, because they never have any certaine and setled place of abode, they have no particular water knowne to them, or appointed place where to take it. Throughout the whole Countrie there are many great and goodly fences, and of excellent pasture for flockes and herds of cattle, and it would be a very fruitfull Countrie if it were manured, and inhabited by a people which had reason and knowledge. We saw no Mountaines in all that Countrie all the time we stayed there. Those Indians told us, that further beyond there were another people, called Camoni, who live toward the Coast, who had slaine all the men which came in the Boat of Pignalosa and Telliz, and that they were all so weake and sicke, that although they killed them, they did not any way defend themselves, and so they made an end of them all, and they shewed us their Garments and Weapons, and that the Barke remayned there on the other side. This is the fift Boat which made up the account, because wee have alreadie said, that the Sea carried away the Boat of the Governour, and that of the Auditour and the Friers was seene cast athwart the Coast, and Esquivel declared the end of them. The two wherein Castiglio, my selfe, and Dorante went, we have alreadie said, that they were drowned at the Iland of Malhado.

Pastures.

Camoni Indians.

What became of their fift Boat.

§. III.

Their flight from the Indians to others, wonderfull cures, backe and belly cares: their travells thorow the Countrey, and hungry adventures. Divers peoples and their customes.

AFter we were removed from the place, about two daies journey from them, wee recommended our selves unto our Lord God, and went flying thence, hoping that although the time of the yeere were now late, and the Tune ended, yet with the fruits that remained in the fields, wee should be able to travell a great part of the Countrie. And so going that first day with much feare that the Indians would have followed us, wee saw certaine smoakes, and going towards them after the evening we saw an Indian, who when hee saw us fled without tarrying for us. Whereupon we presently sent the Negro unto him, who when he saw him alone staied for him. The Negro said unto him, that we came to seeke out those people that made those smoakes, so he answered, that their horses were neere that place, and that hee would guide us thither, and so we followed him and hee went running to give notice of our comming. And about sun-set we saw the houses, and about two crosse-bow shoots before wee came thither, we found foure Indians who staied for us and courteously entertained us. Wee told them in the language of the Mariames that we came to seeke them, who seemed to be glad of our company, and so they brought us to their houses, and placed Dorante and the Negro in the house of a Phisitian, and me and Castiglio, with certaine others. These people have another language, and are called Avavares, and are they who used to bring the Bowes unto those our first masters, and to contract with them: and although they be of another nation and language, yet they understand the language of them with whom we first abode: and they themselves

Avavares Indians.

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also that selfe same day came into that place with their houses. The people presently offered us much Tune, because they knew us both that we had healed them.

Cures very wonderfull, yet true. Benzo (which travelled fourteene yeeres in the Indies with the Spaniards from 1541.) saith that of six hundred of Narvaez his company scarsly ten returned, which at Mexico reported that they had by breathing on them cured the sicke, raised to life three dead men, &c. But, saith hee, Let their holines pardon me, I will easier beleeve that they killed

The verie same night that we came thither, certaine Indians came into Castiglio, and told him that they had verie great paine in their heads, intreating him that he would heale them: and after he had blessed them and recommended them unto God, in the verie same instant they said that they were well, and that the paine was gone. So they went into their houses and brought us much Tune, and a piece of flesh of a wilde beast, which we knew not what it was. This being published among them, many other diseased people came that night that he should heale them, and everie one of them brought a piece of Venison, and they brought so many that we knew not where to put them. We yeelded great thankes unto God, who so continually everie day increased his mercie and his grace towards us. Thus when the cures were ended, they began to dance and sing their rimes, and make their sports untill the next day at the rising of the Sunne, and this festivall jollitie continued three daies by reason of our comming thither. Afterward wee asked them of the Countrie beyond, and of the people and victualls that are found there, and they answered us, that throughout all that Countrie there was much Tune, but that they were now ended and that we should find no people, because after they had gathered the Tune, everie one returned to their houses,

foure living men then that they raised halfe one dead man to life. Ben. l. 2. c. 13. I permit some of these relations, more for knowledge of the Countrey, then for credit of Spanish cures in the Indies, which you shal find in Casas of another nature. These here challenge no Divine end to convert the people to God, and therefore are not like to have any divine beginning, but are either falsly told, or falsly done, or falsly intended by the Father of falshood. And why may they not be ascribed to the Devill, either as lies, if never done; or if done, as devillish Arts to maintaine rapine and superstition, which are here mentioned the effects thereof? Acosta tells of a great miracle-worker in the Indies, a vicious man, and hanged for knaveries. This Cowes-Head the Author is also by Schmidel before, recorded for a bad man in his acts at the River of Plate. I will conclude with S. Aug. de unit. Ecc. c. 16. Removeantur ista, vel sigmenta mendacium ominum vel portenta fallacium spirituum, &c.

and that it was a verie cold Countrie, and verie few skinnes were found there.

Seeing this, and considering that the Winter, and cold time of the yeere was come we agreed to winter with them. And at the end of five daies, after we came thither they departed thence, and went to seeke other Tune, where other people were of other Nations and divers languages: and having travelled five daies journey with much hunger, because neither Tune, nor other fruits are found by the way, wee came to a River and set up our houses there, and after went to seeke certaine fruits of a tree like unto a fig tree, and there being no high way in all those places, I staied longer then the rest in finding them, and so they returned to their houses, and I remained alone, and comming to seeke our men that night I had almost lost my selfe: and it pleased God that I found a tree under the which there was a fire, and at that fire I passed the cold of that night. In the morning I loaded my selfe with wood, and taking two fire brands I returned to seeke them, and went in this manner five daies, alwaies with my fire and burden of wood, because if my fire should have beene extinguished in places where there had been no wood (as in many places there is none) I was to kindle other fire brands and not to remaine without fire, because I had no other remedie against the cold, being as naked as ever I was borne. And in the night I had this remedie, that I went to any small plat of ground beset with trees neere unto the River, and there abode before the Sun went downe and made a trench in the ground and put much wood therein, which they use to doe of certaine trees, whereof in those places there is great abundance, and put many stickes together of such as were falne and drie, and about that trench I made foure fiers a crosse, and thought to come from time to time to renew the fiers, and had made certaine bundels of straw, whereof in those places there is much, and therewith I covered me in that trench, and in this manner defended

my selfe from the cold of the nights: and on a certaine night and the fire lite on the straw which covered mee while I was sleeping in the trench. So the fire began to burne verie fiercely, and although with much furie I leaped out, yet the token of the danger which I had passed remained in my haire. In all this time I eate not one morsell nor found any thing to eate, and going thus scorched and singed much bloud issued from my feet, and God used great mercie towardes mee that in all this time the North winde blew not, for otherwise there had beene no remedie but I must needs have died. At the end of my five daies I came to a River side where I found my Indians, who together with my Christians held me for dead, and alwaies thought that some viper had stung me. And when they found me they greatly rejoyced to see me, but principally the Christians, who said unto me, that untill that time they had travelled with much hunger, and for that cause they came not to seeke mee, and that night they gave mee of the Tune which they had. The day following we departed thence, and went unto the place where much Tune was, wherewith we all satisfied the great hunger which we had, and we Christians gave many thankes unto our Lord God, who left us not without remedie.

The next day many Indians came to us in the morning, and brought five sicke men with them, who were lame and verie ill, and they came to seeke Castiglio that he might heale them, and every one of them that were diseased gave him their Bowes and Arrowes, which he received, and at the setting of the Sun he blessed them, and recommended them unto God, and wee all besought him with the best devotion we could that he would give them health, seeing wee saw there was no other remedie but to doe the best we could that those people might helpe us, that so we might be able to get out of that miserable life: and his infinite goodnesse dealt so mercifully with us, that when the morning came they all arose as sound and strong, as if they had never

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had any disease. This caused them much to wonder, and likewise to render infinite thankes unto our Lord, and that we more entirely acknowledged his great goodnesse, and had assured hope that he would deliver us, and conduct us unto the place where we might better serve him. And for my selfe, I can boldly speake, that I alwaies had an assured trust in his mercie, that hee would raise me from that captivitie, and so I alwaies said to my companions. When the Indians were gone, and carried away their sicke men healed, wee went thence, where the other abode eating Tune, and these are called Cacalcuches and Maticones, who are of another language, and together with them were other called Coaios and Susolas, and on the other side others called Ataios, and they maintaine warres with the Susolas, and they shot every day amongst them : and because in those places they talked of nothing else but of miracles which our Lord God wrought by our meanes, they came from many parts to seeke us that we might heale them, and at the end of two daies wherein we staied there, certaine Indians of Susolas came unto us and intreated Castiglio that hee would goe to cure one that was wounded and other sicke men, saying, that among them there was one who was readie to die. Castiglio was a verie feare-full Physitian, especially when the cures were grievous and dangerous, and beleeved that his sinnes would have caused that all the cures should not succeed well. The Indians said unto mee, that I should goe to heale them, because they wished mee well, and remembred that I had sometimes healed them where the nuts grew, and that for the same they had given me nuts and hides : and this was when I came to joyne my selfe with the Christians ; wherefore I agreed to goe with them, and Dorante and Estevamico went with me.

Cacalcuches. *Maticones.* *Coaios.* *Susolas and Ataios.* *Indians.*

And when we were come neere unto the Cottages which they have, I saw the sicke man whom we went to cure, who was now dead, and about him stood many people lamenting, and his house plucked downe, which

among them is a signe that the master thereof is dead. So when I came I found his eyes distorted, and that he had no pulse, and had all the tokens of a dead man, and as it seemed to mee it was so, and Dorante affirmed the same unto me. I tooke up the matt which he had upon him to cover him, and the best I could I prayed unto the Lord, that he would give mee grace to give health unto that sicke man, and to all the rest that had need thereof. And after I had blessed him and blowne upon him many times, they brought me his Bow and gave it unto me, and a chest of Tune; and brought me to cure many other who were ill at ease with giddinesse, and gave me two other chests of Tune, which I gave unto our Indians which came with us, and having done this wee returned unto our lodgings: and our Indians to whom I gave the Tune remained there, and at night returned to their houses also, and said, that hee who was then dead whom I had cured in their presence, arose up and was well, and walked, and eate, and spoke with them; and so all the rest which I cured remained sound without any fever, and very cheerfull. This caused very great admiration and feare, and throughout that whole Countrey they speake of nothing else. All they to whom this report went came to seeke us, that we might heale them and blesse their children: and when the Indians who abode in the company of our men, who were the Catalcuchi were to go thence, they gave us all the Tune that they had for their journey, without leaving any for themselves, and gave us fire-stones of an handfull and an halfe in length with the which they cut, and among them they are held in great estimation. They intreated us that we would remember them, and pray unto God that they might alwaies be in health, and we promised them to doe it, and with this they went away the most contented men in the world, having given us all the best of that which they had. So we staied with those Indians Avavares eight moneths, and this account we made by the Moone.

A dead man raised. If Benzos opinion be not rather to be embraced, that they killed the living; as this author also reports of his Country-men in the end of this booke.

In all this time many people came to seeke us and said certainly that wee were the children of the Sunne. Dorante and the Negro untill then had not healed any, but through the great importunitie of so many people which flocked together from all parts we became all Physitians, although for the assurance to undertake every cure I was most noted amongst them all, and we never undertooke to cure any who told us not that hee was sound and well: And they had so great confidence in us, that they thought they could not be healed but by our hands, and they beleeved that as long as wee staied with them not one of them could die.

Children of the Sunne.

All become Physitians.

They, and those who are further behind them, declared a very strange matter unto us, and by the signes which they made it appeared that it fell out fifteene or sixteene yeeres since; and this it is, they say, that a man went about that Countrey (which they call an Evill thing) which was of a little bodie and had a beard, although they could never cleerely see his countenance. And when he came to any house all their haire, who were within stood upright and they trembled, and presently at the doore of the house appeared a flaming fire-brand, and then that man entred into the house and tooke from them whatsoever he would, and gave them three great cuts upon the flanke with a fire-stone very sharpe, as broad as a mans hand, and two handfules long, and put his hand upon those gashes and drew out their bowells, and cut them about an handfull, and that piece which he cut he put upon the coales to broile: and presently gave them three other cuts in one arme, and then smote them where he had lanced them, and disjoynted their arme and a little after returned to set it againe and put his hand upon their wounds, and they say that they became suddenly whole. And that many times while they danced that Evill thing appeared among them, sometimes in the habite of a woman, and at another time like a man. And sometimes he tooke away an house or a cottage, and tooke it up on high, and a little after fell

An evill thing or spirit of the Indians.

Diabolicall apparition.

[IV. viii. 1517.]

downe againe together with it and gave a great blow. Moreover they told us that they give him meat, but he never eateth; and that they asked him whence he came, and in what part his house was; so he shewed them a cleft of the earth, and said that his house was under that. At these things which they told us we laughed exceedingly, and made a jest thereof: who seeing wee beleeved it not they brought us many of them whom that man had taken, and we saw the signes of the cuts which he had given them in the places which they had told us. Wherefore wee said unto them that he was a wicked man, and after the best manner we could we gave them to understand, that if they would beleeve in our Lord God, and become Christians as we were, they should not need to feare him, and that he durst not come to doe those things unto them: and that they should hold it for a certaintie, that while wee staied in that Countrie hee durst not appeare there, with this they remained verie well contented.

These Indians told us that they had seene Austuriano and Figheroa, with others who abode on the coast beyond, whom we called those of the Fig-trees. All this Nation knew not the times by the Sunne nor Moone, nor keepe any account of the moneths or the yeere: but know the difference of the times according as the fruits come to bee ripe, and by the moving of the fishes and appearing of the Stars, wherein they are verie wise and well experienced. With them we were alwaies well intreated, although we were faine to dig that which we had to eate with our owne hands, and carrie our burdens of water and wood. Their houses and sustenance are such as the other have behinde them, although they have much greater hunger, because they have neither Maiz, mast, nor Nuts. We went alwayes in leather like them, and in the night wee covered our selves with Deere skins. Of eight moneths which we staied with them, in six of them we indured much hunger, because the fish was not yet found. And at the end of that time the Tune began now to grow ripe, and before those Indians

Their computation of times.

perceived us wee went further unto the other, called Maticones. *Maticones.*

They were one dayes journey from thence, whither I and the Negro came, and at the end of three dayes I sent the Negro to bring Dorante and Castiglio, and when they came wee departed all together, with those Indians, who went to eate certaine small fruites of certaine trees, wherewith they maintaine themselves ten or twelve dayes, untill the Tune come. And there other Indians joyne with them, called Arbadaos, and among them we found many sicke, weake, and swollen, in so much as we greatly marvelled thereat. And the Indians with whom wee came, returned againe the same way, and we said we would remaine with those other, for the which they signified that they were greatly displeased, and so we abode in the field with them, neere unto those houses. And when they saw us, they withdrew themselves, and after they had reasoned a little, every one of them tooke one of us by the hand, and brought us to their houses. With them we indured greater hunger then with the other, so that in the whole day we eate but two handfuls of those fruits which were greene, and had so much juice, that they burned our mouthes; and there being great scarcitie of water, they caused much thirst to them that eate them. And the famine being so great, wee were faine to buy two Hogges of them, and in exchange thereof, wee gave certaine Nettes, and other things, and one skinne wherewith I covered mee. *Arbadaos.* *Hungers peramбulation.*

I have already said, that throughout all that Countrey we went naked, and not being accustomed unto it before, we changed our skins twice in the yeare, after the manner of Serpents. And the Sunne and the weather caused many great sores to arise upon the brests & shoulders of some of us, which put us to great paine, in respect of the burdens which wee carried, that were very heavie, and made the cords to stick in our armes. And the earth was so rough and jagged, that many times when we gathered wood, when we had made an end of digging, the *Apparell.*

bloud ran down from many parts of our bodies, by reason of the thornes and briers wherewith wee met, which tore us wheresoever they touched us. On a time I happened to seeke wood, and after it had drawne much bloud from me, I could not carrie it on my shoulder, nor traile it along the ground; when I found my selfe in this torment, I had no other remedy nor comfort, but to thinke on the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the bloud which he shed for me, and consider how much greater the torment might be, which hee suffered through the crowne of thornes, then that which I indured. I contracted with those Indians, making Combes, Bowes, Arrowes, and Nets for them. Wee also made Mats, which are things whereof they have very great neede, and although they know how to make them, they will make none for seeking foode to eate the meane while, for when they set themselves to worke, they sustaine very great hunger. At other times they made me shave skins, and make them thin, and the greatest prosperity that I had among them, was the day when they gave mee any hide to shave, because I shaved it much, and eate those shavings, and that sufficed me for two or three dayes; yet it hapned, both with these and the other whom we left behinde, that when they gave us a peece of flesh, wee [VI. viii. 1518.] eate it raw, for if wee had boiled it, the first of them that came would have taken it, and eate it, wherefore wee thought it had not beene well done to put it to that danger; and besides, wee were none of them that would bethinke our selves whether wee should rather eate it sodden or raw.

This was the life we led with these Indians, and that little sustenance which we had we got it by small trifles which we made with our hands. After we had eaten these Dogs, supposing that we had some little strength to be able to goe further, we recommended our selves unto our Lord God, that he would guide us, and freed our selves from those Indians, who brought us unto other of their language, who dwelt neere thereunto: and so as we

went it rained all that day, and beside that, we lost the way, and were to stay at a very great Mountaine, where wee gathered many leaves of Tune, and bakd them that night in an Oven which we had made, and put so much fire to them, that in the morning they were ready to be eaten, and after wee had eaten them, we recommended our selves unto God, and went from thence, and found the way which we had lost. And having passed the Mountaine, we found other houses of the Indians, and being come thither, we saw two women and certaine little children that went on that Mountaine, who seeing us were afraid, and fled to call their Indians, who went through the Mountaine. And being come, they staid to behold us behinde certaine trees, so wee called unto them, who ranne with much feare, and after we had spoken unto them, they told us that they had indured great famine, and that neere unto that place many of their houses stood, and said, that they would bring us thither: and so that night we came where fiftie houses were, and they were all amazed to behold us, and stood astonished through exceeding feare: and after they were somewhat comforted, they came neere unto us, and laid their hands upon our faces and bodies, and after put them upon their owne faces and bodies. So we staied that night, and when the morning came, they brought the diseased that were among them unto us, intreating us that wee would blesse them, and gave us such as they had to eate, which were the leaves of Tune and greene Tune rosted or dry, and for the good intertainment they gave us, and because they parted with that little which they had willingly, and were contented to be without meate themselves to give it unto us, we abode with them certaine dayes. And while we thus staied, other Indians, of them that were farre beyond, came thither, and when they would be gone, wee said to the former Indians, that we would goe with the other, which much displeased them, and so we left them sorrowing for our departure, at which they conceived great displeasure.

Famines Discoveries.

A.D. 1527-36. *Sine Cerere & libero friget Venus.*

From the Iland of Malhado, all the Indians which we saw in that Countrey, observe this for a common custome, that if they perceive their women to be great with childe, they lye not with them, untill two yeares be passed, after the children be borne, to the which they give sucke, untill they be of the age of twelve yeares, that they are now of understanding to provide foode for themselves. We demanded of them, for what reason they did thus nourish them, who answered us, that they did it for the great famine which was in that Countrey: where, as wee our selves saw, they were faine to continue sometimes three or foure dayes without eating, and therefore they let them sucke, that in that time they might not dye through hunger, and if notwithstanding some should escape, they would become too delicate, and of little strength. If by chance it happen that any among them be sicke, they let them dye in those fields, if he be not a childe, and all the rest that cannot goe with them remaine there, but for a childe, or a brother of theirs, they lay them upon their necke, and so they carry them.

The Indians let their children sucke till the age of twelve yeares.

They have all this custome to be seperated from their wives, when there is no agreement betweene them, and that both they and she may marry againe with whom they please. And this is usuall among the yonger sort; but such as have children never forsake their wives. And when they contend with other people, or be at variance one with another, they buffet and beate each other with cudgels untill they be very weary, and then they part, and sometimes the women part them, going betweene them, because the men come not in to part them: and what choller or passion soever they have, they fight not together with their Bowes and Arrowes. And after they have buffetted and cudgelled each other, the braule being ended, they take their houses and women, and goe to live in the fields, seperated from the rest, untill their anger and choller be past: and when they are now pacified, it is not needefull that others interpose themselves to make peace and friendship, because in this

No deadly fights.

manner they make it themselves. And if they who be at variance have no wives, they goe to other of their neighbours, who although they were their enemies, receive them courteously, and doe them much flattering kindnesse, and give them such as they have, so that when their choller is past, they returne rich unto their people. They are all warlike people, and use as great subtilty to defend them from their enemies, as they would doe, if they had bin brought up in Italy, and in continuall warre. The horses are they that onely come them, and which the Indians generally feare. They who are to fight with them, must be very wary that they know not that they be faint or cowardly, and while the battaile continueth, they are to use them the worst they can. For if they perceive them to be timerous or cowards, it is a people that very well knoweth the time to avenge themselves, and to take courage and strength from the feare of their enemies. When they are shot in the warres, and have spent their Arrowes, they returne every one their way, without any pursuit of the enemy, although the one part be few, and the other many, and this is their custome. They goe many times away shot cleane through with Arrowes, and dye not, if they touch not the bowels or heart, nay, they quickely heale them. They see and heare, and have the sharpest sences, I thinke, of any men in the world. They are very well able to endure hunger, thirst, and cold, as they who are more acquainted therewith then any other.

Use of Horses.

[IV. viii. 1519.]

Quicke senses.

In the Iland of Malhada there are two languages: the one called Cavoques, and the other Han. In the firme land, afront that Iland, are others called Carruco, who take their name from the Mountaines where they live. Further, upon the Sea coast are others, called Deguenes, and afront them, are others called Mendica. Further upon the coast are the Quevenes, and afront these within the firme land are the Marianes, and going further upon the coast are other, called Guaicones, and afront those within the firme land the Jegunzes, at the end of them

Names of the Nations of those parts.
Malhada.
Cavoques.
Carruco.
Deguenes.
Mendica.
Quevenes.
Marianes.
Guaicones.
Ieguazes.

Ataios, and Acubadaos. are other, called Ataios, and behinde them other called Acubadaos, and of these there are many along this banke further.

Quitoles. Other called Quitoles, live on the coast,

Avavares, and Maliacones. and afront them within the firme land, are the Avavares, and with these the Maliacones unite themselves, and the

Cultalculebes. Cultalculebes, and other called

Susulus. Susolus, and other called

Comos. Comos, and further upon the coast abide the

Cumoles. Cumoles,

Fichi. and on the same coast beyond are others, whom we called them of the Figtrees. All these Nations have habitations, and people, and divers languages. Among them there is one language, in the which, when they say unto men, looke there, they say arraca, and to the Dogs, they say Xo: and in all that Countrey they make themselves drunke with a certaine smoake, and give whatsoever they have to get it.

Likewise they drinke another thing which they take from the leaves of trees, like unto the Mulberry trees, and boile it in certaine vessels on the fire, and after they have boyled it, they fill the vessels with water, and so keepe it over the fire, and when it hath beene twice boiled, they poure it out into certaine vessels, and coole it with halfe a goord, and when it gathereth much fome, they drinke it as hot as they are able to suffer it, and while they put it out of the vessell, and untill they drinke

Foolish drinkrites. it, they stand crying, who will drinke. And when the women perceive these exclamations, they presently settle themselves, not daring once to move, although they finde that they are very well beloved. And if by chance any of them move, they accompt her shamelesse, and cudgell her, and with much choller and anger cast away the water or drinke which they have made: and if they have drunke it, they vomit it out againe, which they doe very easily. The reason of this their custome, they say is this, that if when they will drinke of that water, the women move themselves from the place where they heare that voyce, some bad thing might be put into that drinke, which entring into the body, in short space would cause them to dye. And all the time, that that water is boyled,

the vessell must be well closed and shut, and if peradventure it should stand uncovered, and any woman should come and passe by, they cast it away and drinke no more of it. It is of the colour of Saffron, and they drinke it three dayes without eating, and every day they drinke one *amphora, and an halfe. And when the women have their naturall purgation, they provide no meate but for themselves, because no other person will eate of that which she carrieth. In the time that I continued among them, I saw a most brutish and beastly custome, to wit, a man who was married to another, and these be certaine effeminate and impotent men, who goe cloathed and attired like women, and performe the office of a woman; they carry no Bowes, but beare very great and waightie burdens: and among them we saw many such effeminate persons, as I have said, and they are of greater lims and taller then the other men.

*A vessell containing divers gallons.

Sodomy.

After we departed from them whom wee left lamenting, wee were with the other at their houses, and were very well intertained of them, who brought us their children that wee should touch their hands, and so they gave us much Meale of Mesquiquez. These Mesquiquez are certaine Fruits, which when they are on the Tree are very bitter, and are of the same sort that the Carobe are, and they eate them with the earth, and with it they are very sweet and good to eat. The manner how they prepare them is this; they make a Trench in the Earth of what depth they please, and after they have cast the fruit into this Trench they bruize and breake them very well, with a piece of wood as great as a mans legge, and three Cubits long, and after they are mingled with the earth of the Trench, they take other that are sifted, and put them into the said Trench, and returne to bruize them a little more, and after put them into a vessell like unto a basket, and cast so much water thereon, as is sufficient to cover it, that the water may rise to the top, and hee that hath bruized them, tasteth them in his mouth, and if hee thinke they be not sweet and pleasant,

Mesquiquez a fruite of India.

he demandeth earth and mingleth it therewith. And this he doth untill he find it sweet, and so afterward they prepare themselves to sit round, and every one putteth in his hand, and taketh as much as he can, and the seeds or kernels of those Fruits, and so the huskes they cast upon certaine hides, and he that hath bruised them gathereth them together, and returneth afterward to put them all in a basket, and casteth water upon them, as at the first, and so they returne to wring out the juyce and water so long as it will drop. And likewise they returne to put the seedes and huskes upon the hide, and so in this manner they doe three or foure times for everie bruising; and they that are found at this banquet, which because it is verie great, remaine with their bellies much puffed up through the earth and water which they drinke, and of this the Indians made us many great feasts, and used much dancing and jollitie among themselves, for so long time as we staied there. And when we slept in the night, sixe men watched with great diligence and care, at the doore of the cottage where we abode, not ceasing to come in unto some of us till the Sunne arose.

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And when we would depart from them, certaine women of other people who lived further beyond came thither, and being informed by them where their houses were, wee departed towards those parts, although they earnestly entreated us that we would not depart for that day, because those houses were very farre from thence, and that there was no way to goe thither, and that the women who came were weary; but resting themselves unto the next day, they would afterwards goe with us, and conduct us thither. But we dispatched our selves thence, and went away; and a little after those women who came thither with certaine others of the former Indians, came after us: but there being no beaten way nor path, we presently lost our selves, and so went foure leagues, at the end whereof we came to drinke at a water, where wee found the women that followed us, who told us what

great paines and travaile they had taken to finde us. Departing thence, and bringing those women for our guides, wee passed a River somewhat late, and the water tooke us up to the brest, and might be as broad as that of Sivill, and it ranne very strongly. And at the setting of the Sunne we came to an hundred houses of the Indians, who before we came, went all forth to receive us with so vehement shouting and loud exclamation, that it was a fearefull thing, and gave great blowes with their hands upon their thighes, and brought hollow guords with stones within them, which is the instrument of their greatest jollitie & sport, and never use them but for their dancings, and for medicine; and none dare to take them in his hand but they. And they say that these guords have vertue and come from heaven, because they grow not in those Countries, nor doe they know from whence they come, unlesse the Rivers bring them when they overflow. And the feare and confusion of them was so great, that striving to come neerest unto us and touch us, they so thrunged us, that it was a wonder that they had not killed us: and not suffering us to set our feete on the ground, they carried us unto their houses, and bare us so above ground, and the presse of people so thrunged us, that we entred into the houses which they had prepared for us, and would not consent that they should make their festivall sports any more with us for that night.

The Toupin Brasilians use such Marakas or Raeles, and have like conceits thereof.

They passed all that night, among themselves, in sports and dancing, and the day following, at a good houre, they brought us before all the people of that place, that we might touch and blesse them, as we had done to the rest with whom we abode. And after this, they gave many arrowes to the women of another people, who were come with them. The next day we departed thence, and all that people went with us. And when we came to the other Indians, we were very well entertained, as of the other; and they gave us such as they had, and Deere which they had killed that day. Among these

Indians we saw a new custome, to wit, that they who were first with us, tooke the Bowes & Arrowes, Shooes and Crownes (if they had any) from them who came to us to be healed, and after they had thus taken them away from them, they brought them before us, that we should heale them, and being healed, that we should have them, so they departed verie well contented, and said that they were whole.

After this, we departed from them, and went unto other, of whom we were verie courteously received, and they brought us their diseased persons, who when we had blessed them, said they were cured, and he that was not whole, beleeved that we could cure him, & for that which others told them whom we had healed, they made such great sport and dancing, that they suffered us not to sleepe. Departing from them, we went where many other houses were, and where another new custome began, to wit, that entertaining every one of us very well, they who came with us, tooke all their substance from them, and rifled their houses, without leaving them any kinde of thing, which displeased us verie much, seeing them so ill used who so curteously received us, and also fearing that least this might be the occasion of some alteration, or offence among them. But not being able to remedy the same, and chastise those that did it, wee were then to suffer it, untill we saw we had more authoritie among them. And so, even they themselves who lost their wealth, seeing we were displeased, comforted us, saying, that we should not conceive any displeasure thereat, considering they were so well contented that they had seene us, and that they had bestowed their substance very well, and would hereafter be paid of others who were exceeding rich.

Blinde and squint-eyed people.

The next day they brought all their people before us, the greatest part whereof are squint-eyed, and other of the same people are blinde, whereat we greatly marvelled: they are well set, and of good behaviour, and whiter then all the rest that we had seene untill then. There we

began to see Mountaines, which seemed to extend themselves towards the Sea, from the North, and by the relation which the Indians made, I suppose they are fifteene leagues from the Sea. We departed thence with those Indians towards the Mountaines, whereof I now spake. And they brought us where some of their kindred were, for they would not bring us but to their kinsfolk, because they were unwilling that their enemies should receive so great a benefit, as they thought it was to see us. And when wee were come thither, they that came with us spoiled the other, who knowing the custome had hid certaine things before we came thither. And after they had received us with much joy and gladnesse: they tooke out that which they had hidden, and presented it unto us, and they were Crownes, Magra, and certaine small plates of Silver. We, according to our custome, gave them all presently to the Indians that came with us, and having given us that which they had, they began their dancing and festivall jollitie, and sent to call other people neere thereabouts, that they might come to see us, who came all about the evening, and brought us Garlands, Bowes, and other trifling things, which for the most part we divided among those other Indians. And the day following, we being desirous to depart, they would all bring us to their friends, who remained on the top of the Mountaines, saying that there are many houses and people, that they would give us many things: but because it was out of our way we would not goe thither, and therefore tooke our journey through the plaine neere unto the Mountaines, which we supposed should not be very farre from the coast. All those people are very poore and miserable, wherefore we held it better to crosse over the land, because the people that dwelt further into the Countrey were better conditioned, and would use us better, and we were certainely perswaded, that we should finde a more populous Countrey, and of better sustenance. And lastly, we

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therefore did it, because crossing over the land, we saw more particularities, so that if it should please our Lord God to bring some of us out of that Countrey, and to conduct us into the land of the Christians, wee might be able to make relation and report thereof.

The Indians seeing that we were determined to goe whither they would not, told us, that there was neither people nor Tune, nor any other thing to eate, and therefore praied us that we would stay there for that day, and so we did. Then they sent two Indians to discover the people that way which we purposed to goe, and the next day we departed, carrying many of them with us, and the women went laden with water, and our authoritie was so great among them, that none durst presume to drinke without our leave. Two of their Phisicians gave us two Gourds, and from that time we afterward began to carry Gourds with us, joyning this ceremony to our authority, which among them is very great. They who accompanied us, rifled the houses: but the houses being many, and they but few, they could not carry all away, but should have bin forced to have lost the halfe, and so we went thence through many Mountaines; entring within the land more then fiftie leagues, at the end whereof we found fortie houses, and among other things which they gave us, Andrea Dorante had a thicke and great Bell of copper, with a visage ingraven in it, which they seemed greatly to esteeme, saying that they had gotten it of their other neighbours: who being demanded whence they had it, they said, that they brought it from the Northward, and that it was much worth, and greatly esteemed there. Whereupon we knew, that from what place soever it came, the art of casting and melting of mettals must needes be there. And hereupon we departed the day following, and crossed over a Mountaine of six leagues; and the stones which were there, were of the scumme of Iron, and late in the evening we came to many houses, seated on the side

Copper Bell ingraven.

of a most pleasant River, and the Lords of the same came into the middle of the high way to receive us with their children in their armes, and gave us many small plates of Silver, and Antimonie made in powder, wherewith they annoint their faces, and gave us many garlands, and many mantles of the hides of Kine, and laded all them that came with us with such as they had: they eate Tune and Pine apples. *Plates of Plate.*

They told us, that in the place where the Bell was made, were many plates of that mettall under ground, and that that Bell among them was a thing greatly esteemed, and that houses were built there, and wee supposed that it was the South Sea, for we alwayes knew that that Sea was alwayes richer then that of the North. So we departed from them, and went through so many sorts of Nations, and divers languages, that the memory of man is not able to reckon them, and one people alwayes spoyled the other, and so both they that lost, and they who gained remained well contented. Through those Valleyes where we passed, every one of them carried a sticke or cudgell of three handfuls long, and they went all in troopes, and if any Hare arose, whereof there are many in that Countrey, they turned her suddenly, and so many cudgels fell upon her, that it was a marveilous matter to behold, and in this manner they made her goe from one to another, so that in my judgement it was the goodliest hunting that could be imagined, because sometimes they came even into their hands. And when wee setled ourselves at night, we had so many of them that were given us, that every one of us carried eight or ten, and such as carried Bowes, appeared not among us, but went apart through the Mountaines to seeke deere, and when they came in the evening, they brought five, or six for every one of us, and many Fowles, and Quailes, and other hunting game; and finally, whatsoever all those people tooke, they presented before us, not daring to touch or take thereof for themselves, *South Sea.* *Pleasant hunting.*

although they should dye for hunger (because they accustomed so to doe, since they came with us) unlesse they had first blessed the same. The women carried many Mats, with the which they made houses for us, to every one apart, his severall house, and with all the people which hee knew. [IV. viii. 1522.]

When that was done, wee commanded them to bake those Deere and Hares, and whatsoever else they had taken; which is very quickly done in certaine ovens which they make for the same purpose. Then we first tooke a little of every thing, and gave the rest to the principall and chiefe men of the people to divide it among them all: and when every one had received his part, they came unto us that we should blow upon it and blesse it, for otherwise they durst not presume to eate thereof. And many times we brought with us three or foure thousand persons; whereupon it was a great trouble to us to blow upon and blesse the meate and drinke of every one of them: and for every other thing of theirs which they would doe they came to us to aske leave: whereby it may be considered how great the incumbrance and trouble was which wee endured. The women brought before us the Tune, Frogs, Wormes, and whatsoever else they could get; because although they should bee readie to die through hunger, they would not have eaten any thing which they had not received from our hands. And so going with them wee passed over a great River which came from the North parts, and having travelled over certaine Plaines of thirtie leagues, wee found many people who came very farre off to receive us, and came forth unto the way whether wee were to passe, and received us after the same manner that the other had done.

Superstitious sanctifying their meat.

From thence forward they observed another manner of receiving us, as touching saccage and spoiling. For they that came forth into the high-way to bring us any thing, were not spoiled of them who came with us; but after we were entred into their houses, they

of their owne accord offered us whatsoever they had and the houses also. Wee gave all unto the chiefe and principall, to the intent that they should divide it among them; and alwaies they who remained so spoiled followed us, whereby the number of people greatly encreased through desire to bee satisfied of their losses. And they said unto the rest that they should beware how they hide any thing, because it could not be but we should know it, and cause them all suddenly to die. The feare and frighting wherein they put them were so great, that the first daies they abode with us they stood alwaies trembling, not presuming to speake, nor to lift up their eyes to heaven. They guided us above eightie leagues through a desert Countrey, and very rough mountaines which were so dry, that there was no hunting game there whereby to sustaine our great hunger. In the end having passed over a very great River, where the water tooke up to the brest, many of those who came with us began to lament, through the exceeding great hunger and travell which they had endured through those mountaines, which were extreame rough and troublesome to passe. The same people brought us unto certaine plaines, and at the end of those mountaines much people came farre off to receive us, as the former had done, and gave so many garments afterward to them that were with us, that because they could not carry them they left the halfe behinde them; so that we told those Indians that brought them, that they should take them againe that they might not be lost: who answered, that they would not doe it for anything, because it was not their custome after they had once given a thing, to returne afterward to take it againe and so they suffered them to be lost.

Desert Countrey.

A river.

Many garments.

Foolish liberalitie.

Then we told them that we would goe toward the place where the Sunne went downe, who said that in those places the people were verie farre off. But wee commanded them to send to understand that wee were comming, yet they excused themselves the best they

could; saying, that they were their enemies, and that they were unwilling we should goe thither; but not daring to doe contrarie to our will, they sent two women thither, whom both the one and the other their enemies kept prisoners. And they sent these, because the women may well negotiate with the men even in the warres: and we followed them, and rested our selves in a place where wee determined to expect them, but they staied five daies before they returned, and the Indians said that they should find no people. Wee told them that they should bring us toward the North, whereupon they gave us the same answere, that is to say, that in those places there were no people but farre off, and that there was nothing there to eate nor water to bee found; yet notwithstanding all this we continued obstinate, and said, that we would goe thither, although they alwaies excused themselves the best they could: and for this cause wee were angrie, so that one night I arose and went out to sleepe in the open fields apart from them, but they came presently where I was, and never slept all that night with much feare, and speaking unto me they said that if we would not continue any longer angrie, they would bring us whether we purposed to goe, although they were certainly assured to die by the way. Neverthelesse wee alwaies fained that we were yet angrie, and because their feare was not removed, a verie strange accident happened, that is to say, that on the verie same day many of them became sicke, and the day following eight of them died. Whereupon through all the Countrey where it was knowne, they were so afraid of us that when they saw us they seemed even to die as it were for feare. So they besought us that wee would not continue angrie any longer, and that wee would not cause any more of them to die, certainly perswading themselves that wee killed them onely with our will and desire. We prayed our Lord God that hee would relieve us, and so all those that

Women-treaters.

were sicke began to recover: at which time wee saw a verie marvellous thing, to wit, that the fathers, brethren, and wives of them that died were exceedingly grieved to see them so sicke, but after they were dead they shewed not any signe or token of sorrow, nor did wee see them lament nor speake one to the other, nor make any other signe, nor durst they come neere unto them untill we commanded them to burie them: And for the space of fifteene daies and more that we abode with them, we never saw one speake to the other, nor any of their little children either laughed or cried, and if any of them lamented they carried them verie farre from thence: and with verie sharpe teeth they gashed and cut them from the shoulders to the legs: so seeing their crueltie and being angrie thereat, I demanded why they did it, they answered me, that they did it to chastise them for lamenting before me. Al these fears which they have of us, they yet put into the heads of those who came lately to know us, because they should give us whatsoever they have, for they know that we tooke nothing for our selves, but gave everie thing to them. This was the most obedient people, and best conditioned that we found in all that Countrie, and commonly they are well disposed. Those that were sicke, being recovered and restored unto health, and wee having continued there three daies, the women that we had sent came unto us, and said, that they had found verie few people, because they were gone to the kine, which was now their time. Then we commanded them that were weake to remaine behinde, and those that were well to come with us: and that two daies journey from thence those two women should goe with two of our men, to cause the people to come forth to the highwaies to receive us. And so the morning following all those that were the lustiest departed with us, and after three daies journey wee setled our selves, and the day following Alonso del Castiglio and Estevanicco the Negro, together with those two women for their guides; and

No lamenting for the dead.

that who was their prisoner brought them unto a River which ranne within a mountaine where a people abode, among whom their father was; and these were the first houses that wee saw, which had the forme and manner of true houses.

Houses artificially built.

There Castiglio and Estevanicco arrived, and after they had spoken with those Indians, at the end of three dayes Castiglio returned to the place where they left us, and brought five or sixe of those Indians, and said, That hee had found houses of people and of artificiall building, and that the people eate pulse and gourds, and that hee had seene Maiz there.

Mays.

There wee abode one day, and the next wee departed, they bringing us with them to other built houses, where wee did eate of the same food that they eate. And after from thence forth there was another custome, that they who knew of our comming came not forth into the high-way to meete us as the other did; but wee found them in their houses, and they did nothing else for us. And they were all sitting, and all held their faces towards the wall, hanging downe their heads with their haire over their eyes, and all their clothes were hanged up aloft in the middle of the house, and from thence forward they began to give us many mantles of hides, and they had not any thing which they gave us not. It is a Nation of the best and goodliest proportion of bodie that ever wee saw there, and of a more lively spirit and agilitie, and that understood us better, and answered us to whatsoever wee demanded them, and wee call them, The people of the Kine, because the greater part of the Kine which dye in those Countries is neere thereabouts, and up that River more then fiftie leagues, they goe killing many. These people goe all naked, after the manner of those whom wee found first. The women goe covered with certaine Deere skinnes; and so doe some few men also, and particularly the aged, who are not serviceable for the warres. It is a verie populous Countrey; and being demanded why

Other strange behaviour.

Goodly people.

it did not sowe Maiz, they said, They did it because they would not leese that which they should sowe for two yeeres since their water failed, and the seasons was so dry, that they all lost the Maiz that they had sowed, and that they could not by any meanes be assured to sowe, unlesse first it had rained very much; and they prayed us to speake unto the Heavens that they might send downe raine: they boyle pulse in this manner. They fill a great pot halfe full with water, and put many of those stones in the fire, which will quickely burne, and when they seeth them on fire they take them up with certaine tongs of Wood, and cast them into that water in the gourd untill they make it boyle with that fire of those stones; and when they perceive that the water boyleth, they put in that which they have to boyle, and all this time they doe nothing else but take out one stone and put in another fired redde hot to make the water boyle.

Old fashion of boiling pulse.

§. IIII.

[IV. viii. 1524.]

They come to the South Sea, and travell through a plentifull Countrey, till they meet with Spaniards; whose crueltie and manner of converting Savages is related.

WE went Westward on our journey, & crossed over all the land until we came forth at the South Sea, and the feare wherein they had put us of the great famine which we were to passe (as surely we passed it for seventeen daies together, as they had told us) was not able to divert us from our intended purpose. Throughout all that Countrey up the River, they gave us many Mantles of the hides of Kine, and wee did not eate of those their fruites, but our sustenance was every day a piece of the fat of Deere, of the bignesse of a mans hand, which for this necessitie wee provided alwaies to have in a readinesse, and so wee passed all those seventeene daies journey, and at the end of them

They come to the South Sea.

Barren Countrey.

wee crossed over the River, and travelled other seventeene daies more to the West, through certaine plaines and verie great mountaines which are found there: and there wee met with a people; who the third part of the yeere eate no other thing save the powder of straw, and because wee passed that way at that season of the yeere wee also were constrained to eate it, untill having finished those daies journey wee found setled houses, where there was great quantitie of Maiz, and of that and Meale they gave us enough, and Gourds, and Pulse, and Mantles of Bombasin Cotton, withall which we laded them whom wee had hyred there, who returned the most contented men in the world. Wee yeelded many thankes unto God who had brought us thither, where we found such plentie of sustenance.

People which live on the powder of straw.

Among these houses they had some that were of earth, and all the rest were of mats and from thence wee passed more then an hundred leagues into the Countrey, and alwaies found setled houses and much sustenance of Maiz and Pulse: and they gave us many Deeres skinnes and Mantles of Bombasin Cotten, better then those of New Spaine; and gave us also many Garlands, and certaine Corall which grow in the South Sea, and many Turkie stones which come from toward the North. And finally they gave us whatsoever they had, and unto Dorante they gave Emeralds made into Arrow heads, and with those Arrowes they make their sports and festivall jollitie, seeming to mee very good. I demanded of them whence they had them, who told me that they brought them from certaine very high mountaines, which lye towards the North, and that they got them by exchange and barter for quills and Parrats feathers, and there were many people there and very great houses. Among them wee saw the women more honourably and honestly used, then in any other part of India which wee had seene. They weare certaine smockes of Bombasin Cotton which reach to the knee and over them:

A plentifull Countrey with houses and corne.

Corall and Turkesses.

Emeralds.

Women well used.

soft sleeves of certaine folds or plaits of Deere skinnes without haire which touch the ground, and they perfume them with certaine roots which make them very fine, and so they use them very well: they are open before and tied together with silken strings. They goe shod with shooes. All this Nation came unto us, that we should touch and blesse them, and they were so importunate herein that they put us to much trouble; because the sicke and the whole would all goe from us blessed: and it often happened that of the women that came with us; some were delivered, and as soone as the children were borne they brought them unto us, that wee should touch and blesse them. They accompanied us untill they left us with another Nation, and among all these people they held it for a certaintie that wee came from Heaven: because all the things which they have not, and know not whence they come: they say, that they descend from Heaven. For so long time as wee went with them, wee travelled all the day without eating untill night, and wee eate so little that they were astonied to see it. They never knew us wearie, and surely wee were so accustomed to travell that we were never weary. We had great authoritie among them, and they held a reverent opinion of us, and to preserve the same wee seldom spake unto them. The Negro was the man that alwaies spoke and informed himselfe of the way that wee would goe by the direction of the people that were there, and touching every other thing which we desired to know. We passed through divers languages, and our Lord God favoured us withall, for they alwaies understood us and we understood them, and if we demanded any thing of them by signes they answered us as if they should have spoken our language and wee theirs. For although we understood six languages, we could not thereby prevaile with all, because wee found more then a thousand differences of language. Throughout all these Countries they who have warre among themselves, became suddenly friends that they

Desire of the Spaniards blessing.

Conceit that they came from heaven.

Many languages.

might come unto us and receive us, and bring us whatsoever they had.

Il popolo de Cuori. Dorante had sixe hundred Deeres hearts given him, whereupon we called it the people of Hearts. Through this Countrey, entrie is made into many Provinces which stand upon the South Sea, and if they that desire to goe thither enter not from hence, they are lost, because [IV. viii. 1525.] the Coast hath no Maiz, so that they are faine to eate the powder of beetes, straw, and fish, which they take in the Sea with floates, because they have no Canowes, nor any Boat. The women cover their privities with herbs and straw: they are a people of little understanding and miserable. We supposed that neere unto the Coast by the way of those people which way wee *A thousand leagues of a populous Countrey.* went, it is more then a thousand leagues of a populous Countrey, and that they have much provision wherein they live, for they sowe Pulse and Maiz three times in the yeere. We saw three sorts of Deere there, *Great Deere.* one as great as the biggest steeres of Castiglia. The houses of all those people for habitation are cottages. They have poyson of a certaine kind of tree of the bignesse of an apple tree; and they doe no more but gather the fruit and anoint the Arrow therewith, and if they have no fruit they breake of a bough, and with a certaine milkie juyce which it hath they doe the same. *Poisonous tree.* There are many of these trees that are so poysonous, that if the leaves thereof be bruised and cast into any standing poole and not running water, all the Deere and whatsoever other beast that drinketh thereof suddenly burst asunder. Wee abode three daies with these people, and about one daies journy from thence there was another people, where such showres of raine came powring downe upon us, that by reason the River which was there was so growne we could not passe it, and so we continued there fifteene daies.

In this meane time, Castiglio saw the buckle of a Spanish girdle about an Indians necke, and an Iron key sewed together with it, which he tooke from him:

A.D. 1527-36.

then we demanded what that thing was, and they answered, that it came from heaven; and questioning further with them who brought them, they answered, that certaine men brought them which had beards like unto us, who came from heaven: and comming to that river with Horses, brought Lances and Swords, and two of them passed over with their Lances. Afterwards, as cunningly as we could, we asked them what became of those men, so they answered us, that they went to the Sea. Wee went through many Countries, and found them all dispeopled and not inhabited, for the countrie people went their way flying through the mountaines, not daring to keepe their houses nor labour for feare of the Christians. It greatly discontented us, seeing the Countrie verie fruitfull and exceeding pleasant and full of water and goodly rivers, and to see them afterward so solitarie and scorched, and the people so feeble and weake fled away and all hid, and because they sowed not in so great famine, they maintained themselves onely with the barkes of trees and roots. Wee had our part of this famine in all this journey, because they could not so well provide for us being so evilly hired, that it seemed they would all die. They brought us coverings and beades, which they had hid for feare of the Christians, and gave them unto us, and declared how at other times the Christians had entred and passed through that Countrie, and had destroied and burned the people, and carried halfe the men away, and all the women and little children, and that such as were able to escape out of their hands fled away. Wee seeing them so affrighted that they could not be secured to settle themselves in any place, and that they neither would nor could sowe nor labour and manure the Countrie; nay, they rather determined to suffer themselves to die, which seemed better unto them, then to expect to bee so ill intreated with so great crueltie as they had beene untill that time: and they seemed to bee greatly pleased with us. Notwithstanding wee

Newes of Spaniards.

Countries dispeopled by Spaniards.

feared that being come unto them who were upon the Frontiers, and in warre with the Christians least they would use us cruelly, and make us pay for that which the Christians had done unto them. But God being pleased to conduct us where they were, they began to feare and reverence us, as the former had done and somewhat more, whereat we did not a little marvell. *Gentlenesse fitter then crueltie.* Whereby it may cleerely appeare, that to allure this Nation to become Christians, and make them obedient to the Imperiall Majestie, they ought to be gently and curteously used, and this is the onely and most certaine way of all other. They brought us to a people that abode on the top of a mountaine, where they were faine to climbe up by reason of the exceeding roughnesse of those places, where we found many people gathered together for feare of the Christians. These people received us with great good will and kindnesse, and gave us whatsoever they had, and above two thousand burdens of Maiz, which wee gave unto those miserable and famished people who followed us and conducted us thither: and the day following wee dispatched foure Messengers through the Countrie, as we used to doe, to the intent that they should assemble and gather together as many people as they could, unto one people which abode three daies journey off from thence: and having done this, wee departed with all the people that were there, and alwaies found the trackes and tokens where the Christians had lodged, and about midday wee found our Messengers, who told us that they could not meet with any people, because they were all gone and fled, and hidden in the mountaines, least the Christians should either kill them or make them slaves. And that the night before they had seene the Christians; they themselves standing behinde certaine trees to behold what they did, and they saw that they led certaine Indians in a Chaine tied.

R. Petutan. From this place, which is called the River of Petutan, unto the River where Diego di Guzman arrived, where

we understood of the Christians, may be some foure-score leagues: and from thence where the waters staied us, twelve leagues: and from thence to them whom we called the people of the Harts, five leagues: and from thence to the South Sea, were twelve leagues. Throughout all that Countrey wheresoever wee found mountaines, wee saw great shew and tokens of Gold, Iron, Antimony, and Copper, and other mettalls. In those places where the setled houses are, in January it is very hot. From thence towards the South of the unpeopled Country, unto the North Sea, it is a very naughtie Countrey and poore, where wee endured incredible famine, and they who inhabit there are a most cruell people, and of a very evill nature and behaviour. The Indians that have settled houses, and the rest also make no account of Gold, nor of Silver, nor know for what purpose it may serve.

De' Cuori.

[IV. viii. 1526.]

Shewes of Gold.

I tooke the Negro and eleven Indians with mee, and following the Christians by the tracke which they found, I went to three places where they had lodged, and the first day I travelled ten leagues, and in the morning following found foure Christian Horse-men, who wondered much to see me so strangely attired, and in the company of the Indians, and when they saw me they made a stand, and beheld me a good space, so much astonished that they durst not speake to me nor ask mee any question. Wherefore I spake unto them, intreating them to bring me where their Captaine was; and so we went about halfe a league where Diego di Alcaraz abode, who was their Captaine, and after I had spoken unto him, he told me that hee was in verie evill case, because he had beene there many daies and could not take any Indian, and that he had not any provision to depart, because they began to be in great necessitie and famine there. I told him that Dorante and Castiglio were remaining behinde, who abode ten leagues from thence, with many people who had conducted us: Whereupon he presently sent

He speaketh with his countrey-men.

three Horse-men, and fiftie Indians of those they brought, and the Negro returned with them to guide them; but I remained there, and requested him to make me a testimoniall of the yeere, moneth, and day that I came into that place, and so he did. From this River, unto the people of the Christians called Saint Michael, which pertaineth to the jurisdiction of that Province, which they call Nova Galitia, are thirtie leagues.

After sixe daies were past Andrea Dorante, and Arlonzo del Castiglio came unto us, with those who came for them, and brought above sixe hundred persons with them, which were of them whom the Christians had caused to climbe into the mountaines, and hide themselves in the Countrey; and they, who untill then were come with us brought them, and accompanied with the Christians, and they had dispatched away all the other people which they had brought thither, and came where I was. Alcaraz intreated me that I would send to call the people who abode at the River sides, and had fled into the mountaines, and that they should command them to bring them victualls although it were not needfull, because of their owne accord they brought us as much as they could, and so we presently sent our Messengers to call them: whereupon six hundred persons came who brought us all the Maiz they had, and they brought it in certaine pipkins covered with clay, wherein they had hid it under ground, and they brought us whatsoever they had besides: but wee would not take any thing save victualls to eate, but gave all the rest to the Christians to be divided among them. And after this we had much controversie with them; because they would have made those Indians slaves whom wee brought with us: And through this displeasure and disdaine at our departure, we left many Turkish Bowes which we brought, and many Budgets and Arrowes, and among them five of Emerands, which wee remembred not and so we lost them. We gave the Christians many Mantles of the hides of Kine, and

Ingratefull crueltie.

other things which we brought, and much adoe with the Indians to cause them to returne to their houses, and to secure them and make them sowe their Maiz. They were not willing to goe but with us, untill they left us with other Indians as the custome was: for otherwise if they returned without being left with others, they feared least they should die, and comming with us they feared not the Christians nor their Lances. This thing greatly displeased the Christians, who caused an Interpreter to speake unto them in their owne language, and tell them that wee were the very same men, who for a long time had beene terrified and lost, and were a people of meane condition and of small force, and that they were Lords of the Countrey whom they were to serve. But the Indians made little or no account of all this, so that among themselves they said one to another that the Christians lied, because we came from the place where the Sunne riseth, and the other Christians from the place where the Sunne went downe: and that wee healed the sicke, they killed them that were sound; and that wee went naked and without garments; they clothed on horsebacke and with Lances, and that wee had not any covetous or insatiable desires: so that whatsoever was given us, wee presently gave it unto others and had nothing our selves: and the Christians intend nothing else, but to rob and steale whatsoever they find and give nothing to any: and after this manner those Indians gave their judgement of us, censuring all our actions cleane contrary to that which the Christians doe. And thus they answered the Christians in their language, and did the like to others in a language which was among them which we understood, and those that use it wee call Prinhaitu: which wee had found used for above the space of foure hundred leagues of the Countrey where we travelled, so that we found no other language for the space of foure hundred leagues and more. Finally, it was not possible for us to make those Indians beleeve that we

Language of farre extent.

were any of those other Christians; yet with much adoe, and through our perswasion we made them returne unto their houses, commanding them to rest satisfied, and [IV. viii. 1527.] bring backe their people to sowe and till the ground, which because it was so desolate, became now full of woods, albeit of its owne nature surely, it were the best Countrey, and more fertile and abundant then any in all those Indies: for they sowe three times in the yeare, and have many fruites, and many goodly Rivers, and other very good waters. There are many signes, and great tokens of Mines of Gold and Silver. The people are very well conditioned, and serve the Christians, that are their friends, with a very good will: they are much better disposed then the people of Mexico; and finally, it wanteth nothing to make it an absolute Countrey. The Indians being dispatched, they told us, that they would doe as much as they had commanded, and bring backe their people, if the Christians would suffer them to continue: whereupon I said and certainely affirmed, that if they did it not, the Christians should be much to blame. And after wee had sent them away, the Christians sent us with an Alcado, named Zebrero, and with him three other Christians, whereby it appeareth how much the imaginations of men were deceived, in that we went to seeke liberty among the Christians; and when wee had thought to have found it, the quite contrary befell us, and by seperating us from the conversation of the Indians, they brought us through desolate Mountaines, because we should not see what they did, nor their evill usage; for they had determined to goe to assault the Indians, whom we sent away secured and in peace; and so they did as they imagined: they brought us two dayes through those Mountaines, without water, and without any beaten way or path, insomuch as we thought we should have burst for thirst, whereof seven of our men died, & many friends which the Christians brought with them, could not come till the next day at noone, where we found water: and

Savage infidelity of Christians worse then Infidels and Savages.

we travailed with them about five and twenty leagues, at the end whereof, we came unto a people of the Indians, which were in peace, and there the Alcado, who brought us, left us, and went three leagues further to a people called Culiazzan, where Melchior Diaz, the Sergeant Major, and Captaine of that Province abode. As soone as he knew of our comming, hee presently came the same night to finde us out, and lamented much with us, highly praising our Lord God, for his exceeding mercy towards us, and spake unto us, and used us very well, and in the behalfe of the Governour Nunnez di Guzman, and himselfe, offered us whatsoever hee had or could procure, and began to speak much of the evill usage wherewith Alcaraz and the rest had used us, so that we held it for certaine, that if hee had bin there, that which was done unto us had not bin done, and that night being passed, we departed for Aubacan, and the Sergeant Major intreated us earnestly to stay there, and that wee might doe great service unto our Lord God, and to your Majestie, because the Countrie was desolate, without manuring, and altogether destroyed, and the Indians went and hid themselves, flying through the Mountaines, unwilling to come and stay with their people, and that we should send to call them, and command them in the name of our Lord God, and of your Majesty, to come and inhabit the Plain, and till the Countrie. But this seemed a troublesome matter unto us to put it in execution, because wee had not any of our Indians, or those who were wont to accompany us, to helpe and further us in such like offices. Notwithstanding we thought good to prove two of our Indians which we had prisoners there, who were of the same Country, and were found with the Christians when we first came among them, and saw the people that accompanied us, & understood by them the great authority & dominion which we had had throughout all those Countries, & the miraculous things which we had done in healing the diseased, and many other things,

and with these we sent others of the same people which were also with them, to call the Indians that abode in the Mountains, & those of the river Patachan, where we had found the Christians. And we willed them to tell them, that they should come unto us, because we would speake with them, and so secure them that went, and the other who should come we gave them a great gourd, of those which we caried in our hands, which was a principall token and speciall argument of great state, and with this they went and travailed seven daies, and in the end came and brought with them three Lords of those who had fled into the Mountaines, who were accompanied with fifteene men, who brought us Crownes, Turkies, and plumes of Feathers: and the messengers told us, that they had not found them of the River from whence we came, because the Christians had caused them to flye into the Mountaines: So Melchior Diaz willed the Interpreter to speake unto those Indians in our behalfe, and say unto them, that we were come from God, who abideth in heaven, and had travailed through the world nine yeares, saying unto all them that we found, that they should beleeve in God, and serve him, because he is Lord of all the things in the world, and that he giveth a reward and paiment unto the good, and perpetuall punishment of hell fire unto the wicked: and that when the good men dye, he taketh them up into heaven, where afterwards they shall never dye any more, nor suffer hunger or cold, or endure any other necessitie; but finde there greater glory then can be imagined. And they who will not beleeve nor obey him, shall be throwne downe under the earth in the company of Divels, into an exceeding huge fire which never shall have end, but continually and eternally torment them. And besides that, if they will become Christians, and serve God after the manner that we will tell them, the Christians shall hold them for brethren, and use them very well; and that we would command that they should not doe them any hurt, nor

Manner of Spanish Preaching to the Indians.

take their Countrie from them, but become their good friends. And if they would not doe it, the Christians should use them very cruelly, and carry them for slaves into farre and remote Countries. To this they answered [IV. viii. 1528.] the Interpreter, that they would become very good Christians, and serve God. And demanding of them, whom they adored, and to whom they sacrificed, and of whom they asked water for their seede time, and health and safety for themselves; they answered, that they praied unto a man which is in heaven, and being demanded how they called him, they said Aguar; and they beleeved that he created all the world, and the things therein. Then wee questioned them further, whence they knew that, who answered, that their Parents told them so, and that of a long time they understood it, and knew that he sent water, and all other good things. So wee caused the Interpreter to tell them, that hee whom they called Aguar, we called God, and that they also should call him so, and serve him, and adore him, as we had appointed, and they should finde it very good for them. They answered, that they understood all very well, and that they would doe so; wherefore wee commanded them to descend from the Mountaines, and that they should live secure and in peace, and dwell in the Countrey, and build their houses, and among them make a house for God, and set a Crosse at the entry thereof, like unto that which we had there: and when the Christians should come, they should goe to meete them with the Crosse, without Bowes and weapons, and conduct them to their houses, and give them such as they had to eate, and so they would not doe them any harme, but would become their friends: and the Captaine gave them some of the Mantles, and used them very well. So they departed, carrying with them the two Indians, which before were prisoners, whom we had sent as Messengers, and all this was done in the presence of the Secretary of the Governour, and many other witnesses. Now when the

Indians were returned, all the rest of that Province, who were friends unto the Christians, came to see us, and brought us Crownes and Feathers, and wee commanded them to make Churches, and set Crosses there, because untill then they had not made them, and wee made them bring the children of the principall Seigniory to Baptise them: whereupon the Captaine presently made a vowe and promise unto God, neither to make nor cause any entry to be made upon them, nor take slaves or people in those Countries, which we had secured, and that he would observe this, untill your Majesty or the Governour Nunez di Guzman, or the Viceroy in his name, should provide better for the service of our Lord God, and of your Majesty.

Christianity shall not be so difficult a matter to bring in, because two thousand leagues which we travailed by land and Sea, and other ten moneths, after we came out of captivitie, we travailed without stay, and never found Sacrifices nor Idolatry. In this time, we crossed over from one Sea to another, and by the notice, which through much diligence wee procured to have, from the one coast to the other, wee suppose it to be about two hundred leagues broad and more, and wee understand that on the coast of the South Sea are Pearles and great riches, and that all the best and richest are neere there abouts. We abode in the towne of Saint Michael, untill the fifteenth of the moneth of May, and the occasion why we staied there so long was this, because from thence unto the Citie of Compostella, where the Governour Nunez di Guzman made his residence, it was 100. leagues distance; and the Country was not inhabited & enemy, and it was fit, that other people should goe with us to conduct us, among whom there were forty horsemen, who accompanied us about fortie leagues, and from thence forward, six Christians came with us, who brought five hundred Indian slaves, and being come to Compostella, the Governour Nunez received us very courteously, and gave us such as he

200. leagues betwixt the coast of the North and South Seas.

had to cloath us, which apparell for many dayes, I was not able to carry, and wee could not sleepe but on the ground. And so after tenne or twelve dayes wee departed for Mexico, and came thither on Saint James his even, where the Viceroy and the Marquesse of the Valley kindely intreated us, and gave us apparell and whatsoever they had.

He could not weare apparell for many daies nor sleepe on the ground. He also describeth his voiage to Spaine, which is here omitted.

To the Reader.

CAptaine Soto was the sonne of a Squire of Xerez of Badajoz. Hee went into the Spanish Indies when Peter Arias of Avila was Governour of the West Indies: And there he was without any thing else of his owne, save his Sword and Target: and for his good qualities and valour, Peter Arias made him Captaine of a troope of horsemen, and by his commandment he went with Fernando Pizarro to the conquest of Peru: where (as many persons of credit reported, which were there present) as well at the taking of Atabalipa, Lord of Peru, as at the assault of the Citie of Cusco, and in all other places where they found resistance, wheresoever he was present, he surpassed all other Captaines and principall persons. For which cause, besides his part of the treasure of Atabalipa, he had a good share: whereby in time hee gathered an hundred and fourescore thousand Duckets together, with that which fell to his part; which he brought into Spaine: whereof the Emperour borrowed a certaine part, which he repaied againe with 60000. Rials of Plate in the rent of the Silkes of Granada, and all the rest was delivered him in the Contractation house of Sivil. From Sivil he went to the Court, and in the Court, there accompanied him John Danusco of Sivil, and Lewis Moscoso D'alvarado, Nunno de Tovar, and John Rodriguez Lobillo. Except John Danusco, all the rest came with him from Peru; and every one of them brought foureteene or fifteene thousand Duckets: all of them went well and costly apparelled. And although Soto of his owne nature was not liberall, yet because

This Preface is contained more at large in the sixe first Chapters of the authors Booke: which being no part of Florida discovery, I have here reduced to a Preface.

None of those men prospered which were guilty of Atabalipa or Atuhalpas death: but by civill wars or otherwise were consumed. And so it happened to this Soto.

[IV. viii. 1529.]

that was the first time that he was to shew himselfe in the Court, he spent franckly, and went accompanied with those which I have named, and with his servants, and many other which resorted unto him. He married with Donna Isabella de Bovadilla, daughter of Peter Arias of Avila, Earle of Punno en Rostro. The Emperour made him the Governour of the Isle of Cuba, and Adelantado or President of Florida; with a title of Marquesse of certaine part of the lands that hee should conquer.

This History partly for better knowledge of those parts of the world and partly for the profit of Virginian adventurers, and discoverers, I have here published far briefer then the author in Portuguse (and out of him Master Hakluyt) had done; and added this to that of Nervaz. Cabeza de Vaca the Author of that at this time had come to the Court to beg the conquest of Florida: but seeing Don Ferdinando de Soto had gotten it already, for his oathes sake, he said, he might tell nothing of that which they would know. Soto made him great offers: and being agreed to goe with him, because he would not give him money to pay for a Ship, which he had bought, they brake off, and he went for Governour to the River of Plate. His kinsmen Christopher de Spindola, and Baltasar de Gallegos went with Soto. Those passed and were counted and enroled, which Soto liked and accepted of, and did accompany him into Florida; which were in all six hundred men. He had already bought seven Ships, and had all necessary provision aboord them.

Cabeza de Vaca was the Governour of the River of Plate.

600. men went with Soto into Florida. Ynca in his large story of this voiage containing six Books, saith he had 1000. men with him.

In the yeare of our Lord 1538. in the moneth of Aprill, the Adelantado delivered his Shippes to the Captaines which were to goe in them. They arrived at Saint Iago in Cuba on Whitsunday. The Citie of Iago hath eightie houses which are great and well contrived. The most part have the wals made of boords, and are covered with thatch; it hath some houses builded with lime and stone, and covered with

tiles. It hath great Orchards and many trees in them, differing from those of Spaine: there be Figge-trees which beare Figges as big as ones fist, yellow within, and of small taste; and other trees which beare fruite which they call Ananes, in making and bignesse like to a small Pineapple: it is a fruit very sweete in taste: the shel being taken away, the kernell is like a peece of fresh cheese. In the granges abroad in the Countrie there are other great Pineapples, which grow on low trees, and are like the *Aloetree: they are of a very good smell and exceeding good taste. Other trees doe beare a fruite, which they call Mameis of the bignesse of Peaches. This the Islanders doe hold for the best fruit of the countrey. There is another fruit which they call Guayabas like Filberds, as bigge as figges. There are other trees as high as a javeline, having one onely stocke without any bough, and the leaves as long as a casting dart: and the fruit is of the bignesse and fashion of a Cucumber, one bunch beareth twenty or thirty, and as they ripen the tree bendeth downwards with them: they are called in this Countrie Plantanos, and are of a good taste, and ripen after they be gathered, but those are the better which ripen upon the tree it selfe: they beare fruit but once, and the tree being cut downe, there spring up others out of the but, which beare fruit the next yeare. There is another fruit, whereby many people are sustained, and chiefly the slaves, which are called Batatas. These grow now in the Isle of Terzera, belonging to the Kingdome of Portugall, and they grow within the earth, and are like a fruit called Iname, they have almost the taste of a Chestnut. The Bread of this countrie is also made of rootes which are like the Batatas. And the stocke whereon those rootes doe grow is like an Elder tree: they make their ground in little hillocks, and in each of them they thrust foure or five stakes; and they gather the rootes a yeare and an halfe after they set them. If any one, thinking it is a Batata or Potato

Great Figs.

Ananes.

Great Pine-apples.

**Erua babosa.*

Mameis, an excellent fruit.

Guayabas.

Plantanos.

Batatas, or Potatos.

The Cassavi root.

root, chance to eate of it never so little, he is in great danger of death; which was seene by experience in a Soldier, which as soone as he had eaten a very little of one of those roots he died quickly. They peare these roots and stampe them, and squese them in a thing like a presse: the juyce that commeth from them is of an evill smell. The Bread is of little taste and lesse substance. Of the fruits of Spaine there are Figs and Oranges, & they beare fruit all the yeare, because the soile is very ranke and fruitfull. In this Countrie are many good Horses, and there is greene grasse all the yeare. There be many wilde Oxen and Hogs, whereby the people of the Island is well furnished with flesh: Without the townes abroad in the Countrie are many fruits. And it happeneth sometimes that a Christian goeth out of the way and is lost fifteene or twenty daies, because of the many paths in the thicke groves that crosse to & fro made by the Oxen: and being thus lost, they sustaine themselves with fruits and palmitos: for there be many great groves of Palme trees through all the Island; they yeelde no other fruite that is of any profit. The Isle of Cuba is 300. leagues long from the East to the West, and is in some places 30. in others 40. leagues from North to South. It hath six towns of Christians: to wit, S. Iago, Baracôa, Bayamo, Puerto de Principes, S. Espirito, and Havana. Every one hath betweene thirty and forty housholds, except S. Iago and Havana, which have about sixtie or eightie houses. They have Churches in each of them, and a Chaplen which confesseth them and saith Masse. In S. Iago is a Monasterie of Franciscan Friers: it hath but few Friers, and is well provided of almes, because the Countrie is rich: The Church of S. Iago hath honest revenew, and there is a Curat and Prebends and many Priests, as the Church of that Citie, which is the chiefe of all the Island. There is in this Countrie much Gold, and few slaves to get it: For many have made a way themselves, because of the

Store of good Horses.

The length and breadth of Cuba.

Christians evill usage of them in the Mines. A Steward of Vasques Porcallo, which was an inhabitour in that Island, understanding that his slaves would make away themselves, staied for them with a cudgell in his hand at the place where they were to meete, and told them, that they could neither doe nor thinke anything, that hee did not know before, and that hee came thither to kill himselfe with them, to the end, that if he had used them badly in this World, hee might use them worse in the World to come: And this was a meane that they changed their purpose, and turned home againe to doe that which he commanded them.

A wittie stratagem.

[IV. viii. 1530.]

Chap. II.

Ferdinando de Soto his Voyage to Florida and Discoverie of the Regions in that Continent: with the Travels of the Spaniards foure yeeres together therein, and the accidents which befell them: written by a Portugall of the Company, and here contracted.

§. I.

Sotos entrance into Florida, taking of John Ortiz one of Narvaz his company, comming to Paracossy, and divers other Caciques, with accidents in the way.

May 18. 1539. *Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega hath written a story of this voyage. He saith Soto had with him* 950. *souldiers, besides Mariners, which he had entertained for the conquest of Florida, and came with him in this Fleet from Saint Lucars. This Author hath but* 600.

ON Sunday the eighteenth of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1539. the Adelantado or President departed from Havana in Cuba with his fleet, which were nine vessels, five great shippes, two Caravels, and two Brigantines: They sayled seven dayes with a prosperous wind. The five and twentieth day of May, the day de Pasca de Spirito Santo (which we call Whitson Sunday) they saw the Land of Florida; and because of the shoalds, they

came to an anchor a league from the shoare. On Friday the thirtieth of May they landed in Florida, two leagues from a Towne of an Indian Lord, called Ucita. They set on Land two hundred and thirteene Horses, which they brought with them, to unburden the ships, that they might draw the lesse water. He landed all his men, and only the Seamen remained in the ships, which in eight daies, going up with the tide everie day a little, brought them up unto the Towne. Assoone as the people were come on shore, he pitched his Campe on the Sea side, hard upon the Bay which went up unto the Towne. And presently the Captaine Generall Vasques Porcallo with other seven Horsemen foraged the Countrie halfe a league round about, and found six Indians, which resisted him with their Arrowes, which are the weapons which they use to fight withall: The Horsemen killed two of them, and the other foure escaped; because the Countrie is cumbersome with Woods and Bogs, where the Horses stacke fast, and fell with their Riders, because they were weake with travelling upon the Sea. The same night following the Governour with an hundred men in the Brigantines lighted upon a Towne, which he found without people, because, that assoone as the Christians had sight of Land, they were descried, and saw along the Coast many smokes, which the Indians had made to give advice the one to the other. The next day Luys de Moscoso, Master of the Campe set the men in order, the Horsemen in three Squadrons, the Vantgard, the Batalion, and the Rereward: and so they marched that day, and the day following, compassing great Creekes which came out of the Bay: They came to the Towne of Ucita, where the Governour was, on Sunday the first of June, being Trinitie Sunday. The Towne was of seven or eight houses. The Lords house stood neere the shoare upon a very high Mount, made by hand for strength. At another end of the Towne stood the Church, and on the top of it stood a fowle made of

The ships came up to the Towne of Ucita.

The Towne of Ucita.

June.

wood with gilded eies. Here we found some Pearles of small value, spoiled with the fire, which the Indians doe pierce and string them like Beads, and weare them about their neckes and hand-wrists, and they esteeme them very much. The houses were made of Timber, and covered with Palme leaves. *Some Pearles found.*

From the Towne of Ucita the Governour sent Alcalde Major Baltasar de Gallegos with fortie Horsemen and eightie Footmen into the Countrie to see if they could take any Indians: and the Captaine John Rodriguez Lobillo another way with fiftie Footmen. John Rodriguez Lobillo returned to the Campe with sixe men wounded, whereof one died, and brought the foure Indian women, which Baltasar Gallegos had taken in the Cabbins or Cottages. Two leagues from the Towne, comming into the plaine field, he espied ten or eleven Indians, among whom was a Christian, which was naked and scorched with the Sunne, and had his armes razed after the manner of the Indians, and differed nothing at all from them. And assoone as the Horsemen saw them they ranne toward them. The Indians fled, and some of them hid themselves in a Wood, and they overtooke two or three of them which were wounded: and the Christian seeing an Horseman runne upon him with his Lance, began to crie out, Sirs, I am a Christian, slay mee not, nor these Indians, for they have saved my life. And straight way hee called them, and put them out of feare, and they came forth of the Wood unto them. The Horsemen tooke both the Christian and the Indians up behind them; and toward night came into the Campe with much joy: which thing being knowne by the Governour, and them that remained in the Campe, they were received with the like. [IV. viii. 1531.]

The Christians name was John Ortiz, and hee was borne in Sivill, of Worshipfull Parentage. He was twelve yeeres in the hands of the Indians. He came into this Countrie with Pamphilo de Narvaez; and returned in the ships to the Iland of Cuba, where the *John Ortiz lived 12. yeeres, among the Floridians of Ucita and Moscoço. Narvaez.*

Wife of the Governour Pamphilo de Narvaez was: and by his commandement with twentie or thirtie other in a Brigandine, returned backe againe to Florida: and comming to the Port in the sight of the Towne, on the shoare they saw a Cane sticking in the ground, and riven at the top, and a Letter in it: and they beleeved that the Governour had left it there to give advertisement of himselfe, when hee resolved to goe up into the Land: and they demanded it of foure or five Indians; which walked along the Sea shoare: and they bad them by signes to come on shoare for it: which against the will of the rest John Ortiz and another did. And assoone as they were on the Land, from the houses of the Towne issued a great number of Indians, which compassed them about, and tooke them in a place where they could not flee: and the other which sought to defend himselfe, they presently killed upon the place, and tooke John Ortiz alive, and carried him to Ucita their Lord. And those of the Brigandine sought not to land, but put themselves to Sea, and returned to the Iland of Cuba. Ucita commanded to bind John Ortiz hand and foot upon foure stakes aloft upon a raft, and to make a fire under him, that there he might bee burned: But a daughter of his desired him that he would not put him to death, alleaging, that one only Christian could do him neither hurt nor good, telling him, that it was more for his honour to keepe him as a Captive. And Ucita granted her request, and commanded him to be cured of his wounds: and assoone as he was whole, he gave him the charge of the keeping of the Temple: because *Wolves.* that by night the Wolves did carrie away the dead corpses out of the same: who commended himselfe to God and tooke upon him the charge of his Temple. One night the Wolves gate from him the corpses of a little child, the Sonne of a principall Indian; and going after them he threw a Dart at one of the Wolves, and strooke him that carried away the corps, who feeling himselfe wounded, left it, and fell downe dead neere the

place: and hee not woting what he had done, because it was night, went backe againe to the Temple: the morning being come, and finding not the bodie of the childe, he was very sad. Assoone as Ucita knew thereof, he resolved to put him to death; and sent by the tract, which hee said the Wolves went, and found the bodie of the childe, and the Wolfe dead a little beyond: whereat Ucita was much contented with the Christian, and with the watch which hee kept in the Temple, and from thence forward esteemed him much. Three yeeres after he fell into his hands, there came another Lord called Mocoço, who dwelleth two daies journey from the Port, and burned his Towne. Ucita fled to another Towne that he had in another Sea Port. Thus John Ortiz lost his office and favour that he had with him. These people being worshippers of the Devill, are wont to offer up unto him the lives and bloud of their Indians or of any other people they can come by: and they report, that when hee will have them doe that Sacrifice unto him, he speaketh with them, and telleth them that hee is athirst, and willeth them to sacrifice unto him. John Ortiz had notice by the Damosell that had delivered him from the fire, how her father was determined to sacrifice him the day following, who willed him to flee to Mocoço: for she knew that he would use him well: for she heard say, that he had asked for him, and said he would be glad to see him: and because he knew not the way, she went with him halfe a league out of the Towne by night, and set him in the way, and returned because she would not be discovered. John Ortiz travelled all that night, and by the morning came unto a River, which is in the Territorie of Mocoço. Three or foure Indians carried the newes to their Lord: who came forth a quarter of a league from the Towne to receive him; and was very glad of him. He caused him presently to sweare according to the custome of the Christians, that he would not runne away from him to any other Lord: and promised him to entreate him very well; and that if at

Mocoço dwelleth two dayes journie from Ucita.

Humane sacrifice.

A River.

any time there came any Christians into that Countrie, he would freely let him goe, and give him leave to goe to them: and likewise tooke his oath to performe the same according to the Indian custome. He dwelt with Mocoço nine yeeres, with small hope of seeing any Christians. Assoone as our Governour arrived in Florida, it was knowne to Mocoço, and straightway he signified to John Ortiz, that Christians were lodged in the Towne of Ucita. And Mocoço gave him ten or eleven principal Indians to beare him company: and as they went to the Port where the Governour was, they met with Baltasar de Gallegos, as I have declared before. Assoone as hee was come to the Campe, the Governour commanded to give him a sute of apparell, and very good Armour, and a faire Horse; and enquired of him, whether hee had notice of any Countrie where there was any Gold or Silver? He answered, No, because hee never went ten leagues compasse from the place where he dwelt: But that thirty leagues from thence dwelt an Indian Lord, which was called Paracossi, to whom Mocoço and Ucita, with all the rest of that Coast payed Tribute, and that he peradventure might have notice of some good Countrie: and that his Land was better then that of the Sea-coast, and more fruitfull and plentifull of Maiz. Whereof the Governour received great contentment: and said that hee desired no more then to find victuals, that he might goe into the maine Land, for the Land of Florida, was so large, that in one place or other there could not choose but bee some Countrie. The Cacique Mocoço came to the Port to visit the Governour.

[IV. viii. 1532.]

Paracossi 30. leagues from Puerto de Spirito Santo.

The Governour answered him, That although in freeing and sending him the Christian, he had preserved his honour and promise, yet he thanked him, and held it in such esteeme, as it had no comparison; and that he would alwayes hold him as his Brother, and would favour him in all things to the utmost of his power. Then he commanded a shirt to be given him, and other things wherewith the Cacique being very well

contented, tooke his leave of him, and departed to his owne Towne.

From the Porte de Spirito Santo where the Governour lay, he sent the Alcalde Major Baltasar de Gallegos with fiftie Horsemen, and thirtie or fortie Footmen to the Province of Paracossi, to view the disposition of the Countrie, and informe himselfe of the Land farther inward, and to send him word of such things as he found. Likewise he sent his ships backe to the Iland of Cuba, that they might returne within a certaine time with victuals. Vasques Porcallo de Figueroa, which went with the Governour as Captaine Generall, (whose principall intent was to send slaves from Florida, to the Iland of Cuba, where he had his goods and Mynes) having made some In-rodes, and seeing no Indians were to be got, because of the great Bogges and thicke Woods that were in the Countrie, considering the disposition of the same, determined to returne to Cuba. And though there was some difference betweene him and the Governour, whereupon they neither dealt nor conversed together with good countenance, yet notwithstanding with loving words hee asked him leave and departed from him. Baltasar de Gallegos came to the Paracossi: *Paracossi.* There came to him thirty Indians from the Cacique, and said, that their Lord was ill at ease, and therefore could not come, but that they came on his behalfe to see what he demanded. Hee asked them if they knew or had notice of any rich Country where there was Gold or Silver. They told them they did: and that toward the West, there was a Province which was called Cale; and *Cale.* that others that inhabited other Countries had warre with the people of that Countrie, where the most part of the yeere was Summer, and that there was much Gold: and that when those their enemies came to make warre with them of Cale, these Inhabitants of Cale did weare hats of Gold, in manner of Head-pieces. Baltasar de Gallegos, seeing that the Cacique came not, thinking all that they said was fained, with intent that in the meane time they

might set themselves in safetie, fearing, that if he did let them goe, they would returne no more, commanded the thirtie Indians to be chained, and sent word to the Governour by eight Horsemen what had passed whereof the Governour with all that were with him at the Port de Spirito Santo received great comfort, supposing that that which the Indians reported, might be true. Hee left Captaine Calderan at the Port, with thirtie Horsemen and seventie Footmen, with provision for two yeeres, and himselfe with all the rest marched into the mayne Land, *Paracossi.* and came to the Paracossi, at whose Towne Baltasar de Gallegos was: and from thence with all his men tooke the *Acela.* way to Cale. He passed by a little Towne called Acela, and *Tocaste.* came to another called Tocaste: and from thence he went before with thirtie Horsemen, and fiftie Footmen toward *Another Towne.* Cale. And passing by a Towne, whence the people were *A Lake.* fled, they saw Indians a little from thence in a Lake; to whom the Interpretor spake. They came unto them and gave them an Indian for a guide: and hee came to a *A swift River.* River with a great current, and upon a Tree, which was in the midst of it, was made a Bridge, whereon the men passed: the Horses swamme over by a Hawser, that they were pulled by from the other side: for one which they drove in at the first without it, was drowned. From thence the Governour sent two Horsemen to his people that were behind, to make haste after him; because the way grew long, and their victuals short. He came *Cale.* to Cale, and found the Towne without people. He tooke three Indians which were Spies, and tarried there for his people that came after, which were sore vexed with hunger and evill wayes, because the Countrie was very *Boggie countrey.* barren of Maiz, low, and full of water, bogs, and thicke woods; and the victuals, which they brought with them from the Port de Spirito Santo, were spent. Wheresoever any Towne was found, there were some Beets, and he that came first gathered them, and sodden with water and salt, did eate them without any other thing: and such as could not get them, gathered the stalkes of Maiz and eate

them, which because they were young had no Maiz in them. When they came to the River which the Governour had passed, they found Palmitos upon low Palme-trees like those of Andaluzia. There they met with the two Horsemen which the Governour sent unto them, and they brought newes that in Cale there was plentie of Maiz; at which newes they all rejoyced. Assoone as they came to Cale, the Governour commanded them to gather all the Maiz that was ripe in the field, which was sufficient for three moneths. At the gathering of it the Indians killed three Christians, and one of them which were taken told the Governour, that within seven dayes [IV. viii. journey, there was a very great Province, and plentifull 1533.] of Maiz, which was called Apalache. And presently hee departed from Cale with fiftie Horsemen and sixtie Foot-men. He left the Master of the Campe Luys de Moscoso with all the rest of the people there, with charge that he should not depart thence untill he had word from him. And because hitherto none had gotten any slaves, the bread that every one was to eate, hee was faine himselfe to beate in a Morter made in a piece of Timber with a Pestle, and some of them did sift the flowre through their shirts of Mayle. They baked their bread upon certaine Tileshares which they set over the fire. It is so troublesome to grinde their Maize, that there were many that would rather not eat it, then grind it: and did eate the Maize parched and sodden.

Travelling Souldiers shifts for bread.

The eleventh day of August 1539. the Governour departed from Cale; hee lodged in a little Towne called Ytara, and the next day in another called Potano, and the third day at Utinama, and came to another Towne, which they named the Towne of Evill peace; because an Indian came in peace, saying, That he was the Cacique, and that he with his people would serve the Governour, and that if he would set free eight and twentie persons, men and women, which his men had taken the night before, he would command provision to be brought him, and would give him a guide to instruct him in his way:

Ytara.
Potano.
Utinama.
The Towne of Evill peace.

The Governour commanded them to be set at libertie, and to keepe him in safegard. The next day in the morning there came many Indians, and set themselves round about the Towne neere to a Wood. The Indian wished them to carrie him neere them; and that he would speake unto them, and assure them, and that they would doe whatsoever he commanded them. And when he saw himselfe neere unto them he brake from them, and ranne away so swiftly from the Christians, that there was none that could overtake him, and all of them fled into the Woods. The Governour commanded to loose a Greyhound, which was alreadie fleshed on them, which passing by many other Indians, caught the counterfeit Cacique, which had escaped from the Christians, and held him till they came to take him. From thence the Governour lodged at a Towne called Cholupaha: and because it had store of Maiz in it, they named it Villa farta. Beyond the same there was a River, on which he made a Bridge of Timber, and travelled two daies through a desert. The seventeenth of August, he came to Caliquen, where hee was informed of the Province of Apalache: They told him that Pamphilo de Narvaez had beene there, and that there he tooke shipping, because he could find no way to goe forward: That there was none other Towne at all; but that on both sides was all water. The whole company were verie sad for these newes; and counselled the Governour to goe backe to the Port de Spirito Santo, and to abandon the Countrie of Florida, lest he should perish as Narvaez had done: declaring, that if he went forward, he could not returne backe when he would, and that the Indians would gather up that small quantitie of Maiz which was left. Whereunto the Governour answered, that he would not goe backe, till he had seen with his eies that which they reported: saying, that he could not beleeve it, and that wee should be put out of doubt before it were long. And he sent to Luys de Moscoso to come presently from Cale, and that hee tarried for

Greyhound catcheth the fugitive.

Cholupaha.

A River.

Caliquen.

him heere. Luys de Moscoso and many others thought, that from Apalache they should returne backe; and in Cale they buried their Iron Tooles, and divers other things. They came to Caliquen with great trouble; because the Countrie, which the Governour had passed by, was spoiled and destitute of Maiz. After all the people were come together, he commanded a Bridge to bee made over a River that passed neere the Towne. *A River.* Hee departed from Caliquen the tenth of September, and carried the Cacique with him. After hee had travelled three dayes, there came Indians peaceably, to visit their Lord, and every day met us on the way playing upon Flutes: which is a token that they use, that men may know that they come in peace. They said, that in our way before was there a Cacique, whose name was Uzachil, a Kinsman of the Cacique of Caliquen their Lord, wayting for him with many presents, and they desired the Governour that hee would loose the Cacique. But hee would not, fearing that they would rise, and would not give him any Guides, and sent them away from day to day with good wordes. He travelled five daies, passed by some small Townes, *Some small Townes.* came to a Towne called Napetuca, the fifteenth day of *Napetuca.* September. There were thirtie or fortie Indians slaine. The rest fled to two very great Lakes, that were *Two very great Lakes.* somewhat distant the one from the other: There they were swimming, and the Christians round about them. The Calievermen and Crosse-bowmen shot at them from the banke; but the distance being great, and shooting afarre off, they did them no hurt. The Governour commanded that the same night they should çompasse one of the Lakes, because they were so great, that there were not men enow to compasse them both: beeing beset, assoone as night shut in, the Indians, with determination to runne away, came swimming very softly to the banke; and to hide themselves, they put a water *Indian subtlety.* Lilly leafe on their heads. The Horsemen assoone as they perceived it to stirre, ranne into the water to the

Horses breasts, and the Indians fled againe into the Lake. So this night passed without any rest on both sides. John Ortiz perswaded them, that seeing they could not escape, they should yeeld themselves to the Governour: which they did, enforced thereunto by the coldnesse of the water; and one by one, hee first whom the cold did first overcome, cried to John Ortiz, desiring that they would not kill him, for he came to put himselfe into the hands of the Governour. By the morning watch they made an end of yeelding themselves: only twelve principall men, being more honourable and valorous then the rest, resolved rather to die then to come into his hands. And the Indians of Paracossi, which were now loosed out of chaines, went swimming to them, and pulled them out by the haire of their heads, and they were all put in chaines, and the next day were divided among the Christians for their service. Being thus in captivitie, they determined to rebell; and gave in charge to an Indian, which was Interpretor, and held to bee valiant, that assoone as the Governour did come to speake with him, hee should cast his hands about his necke, and choake him: Who, when he saw opportunitie, laid hands on the Governor, and before he cast his hands about his necke, he gave him such a blow on the nostrils, that he made them gush out with bloud, and presently all the rest did rise. He that could get any weapons at hand or the handle wherwith he did grind the Maiz, sought to kill his Master, or the first hee met before him: and hee that could get a Lance or Sword at hand, bestirred himselfe in such sort with it, as though he had used it all his life time. One Indian in the Market place enclosed betweene fifteene or twentie Footmen, made away like a Bull with a Sword in his hand, till certaine Halbardiers of the Governor came, which killed him. Another gat up with a Lance to a loft made of Canes, which they build to keepe their Maiz in, which they call a Barbacoa, and there he made such a noyse, as

[IV. viii. 1534.]

A new Conspiracie.

though tenne men had beene there defending the doore: they slue him with a partisan. The Indians were in all about two hundred men. They were all subdued. And some of the youngest the Governour gave to them which had good chaines, and were carefull to looke to them that they gat not away. All the rest he commanded to be put to death, being tyed to a stake in the midst of the Market place: and the Indians of the Paracossi did shoot them to death.

Two hundred Indians taken.

The Governour departed from Napetuca the three and twentieth of September: hee lodged by a River, where two Indians brought him a Bucke from the Cacique of Uzachil. The next day he passed by a great Towne called Hapaluya; and lodged at Uzachil, and found no people in it, because they durst not tarrie for the notice the Indians had of the slaughter of Napetuca. Hee found in that Towne great store of Maiz, French Beanes and *Pompions, which is their food, and that wherewith the Christians there sustained themselves. The Maiz is like course Millet, and the Pompions are better and more savourie then those of Spaine. From thence the Governour sent two Captaines each a sundry way to seeke the Indians. They tooke an hundred men and women: of which aswell there as in other places where they made any inrodes, the Captain chose one or two for the Governour, and divided the rest to himselfe, and those that went with him. They led these Indians in chaines with Iron collars about their neckes; and they served to carrie their stuffe, and to grind their Maiz, and for other services that such Captives could doe. Sometimes it happened that going for wood or Maiz with them, they killed the Christian that led them, and ranne away with the chaine: others filed their chaines by night with a piece of stone, wherewith they cut them, and use it in stead of Iron. Those that were perceived paid for themselves, and for the rest, because they should not dare to doe the like another time. The

A River.

Hapaluya a great Towne. Uzachil.

**Aboboras.*

women and young boyes, when they were once an hundred leagues from their Countrie, and had forgotten things, they let goe loose, and so they served; and in a very short space they understood the Language of the Christians. From Uzachil the Governour departed toward Apalache, and in two dayes journey, he came to *Axille.* a Towne called Axille, and from thence forward the Indians were carelesse, because they had as yet no notice of the Christians. The next day in the morning, the first of October, he departed from thence, and *A River.* commanded a Bridge to be made over a River which he was to passe.

The Governour passed upon Wednesday, which was Saint Francis his day, and lodged at a Towne which *Uitachuco.* was called Uitachuco, subject to Apalache: he found it burning; for the Indians had set it on fire. From thence forward the Countrie was much inhabited, and had great store of Maiz. He passed by many Granges like Ham- *October 25.* lets. On Sunday the five and twentieth of October, he *Uzela.* came to a Towne, which is called Uzela, and upon *Anaica Apalache.* Tuesday to Anaica Apalache, where the Lord of all that Countrie and Province was resident: in which Towne the Campemaster, whose office it is to quarter out and lodge men, did lodge all the company round about within a league and halfe a league of it. There were other Townes, where was great store of Maiz, Pompions, French Beanes, and Plummes of the Countrie, which are better then those of Spaine, and they grow in the fields without planting. The victuals that were thought necessary to passe the Winter, were gathered from these Townes *Apalache within ten leagues of the Sea.* to Anaica Apalache. The Governour was informed, that the Sea was ten leagues from thence. He presently sent a Captaine thither with Horsemen and Footmen: And sixe leagues on the way he found a Towne, which was *Ochete. The Sea.* named Ochete, and so came to the Sea, and found a great tree felled, and cut it into peeces, with stakes set up like mangers, and saw the skuls of horses. He returned with this newes. And that was held for certaine, which was

reported of Pamphilo de Narvaez, that there he had builded the barkes wherewith he went out of the land of Florida, and was cast away at Sea. Presently the Governour sent John Danusco with thirty horsemen to the port de Spiritu Santo, where Calderan was, with order that they should abandon the port, and all of them come to Apalache. He departed on Saturday the seventeenth of November. In Uzachil and other townes that stood in the way hee found great store of people already carelesse. [IV. viii. 1535.] He would take none of the Indians for not hindring himselfe, because it behooved him to give them no leasure to gather themselves together: Hee passed through the Townes by night, and rested without the Townes three or foure houres. In ten daies he came to the Port de Spirito Santo. Hee carried with him twenty Indian women, which he tooke in Ytara, and Potano, neere unto Cale, and sent them to Donna Isabella, in the two Caravels, which he sent from the Port de Spirito Santo to Cuba. And he carried all the footemen in the Brigandines, and coasting along the shoare, came to Apalache. And Calderan with the horsemen, and some crossebow-men on foote went by land; and in some places the Indians set upon him, and wounded some of his men. As soone as he came to Apalache, presently the Governour sent sawed plankes and spikes to the Sea side, wherewith was made a Piragua or Barke, wherein were embarked thirty men well armed, which went out of the Bay to the Sea, looking for the Brigandines. Sometimes they fought with the Indians, which passed along the harbour in their Canoes. Upon Saturday, the twenty nine of November, there came an Indian through the Watch undiscovered, and set the Towne on fire, and with the great winde that blew, two parts of it were consumed in a short time. On Sunday the twenty eight of December came John Danusco with the Brigandines. The Governor sent Francisco Maldonado, a Captain of footmen, with fiftie men to discover the coast Westward, & to seeke some

The Port de Spiritu Santo ten daies journie from Apalache.

Port, because he had determined to goe by land, & discover that part. That day there went out eight horsemen by commandement of the Governour into the field, two leagues about the Towne to seeke Indians: for they were now so emboldened, that within two crossebow shot of the campe, they came & slew men. They found two men and a woman gathering French Beanes: the men, though they might have fled, yet because they would not leave the woman, which was one of their wives, they resolved to die fighting: and before they were slaine, they wounded three horses, whereof one died within a few daies after. Calderan going with his men by the Seacoast, from a wood that was neere the place, the Indians set upon him, and made him forsake his way, and many of them that went with him forsooke some necessary victuals, which they carried with them. Three or foure dayes after the limited time given by the Governor to Maldonado for his going and comming, being already determined and resolved, if within eight dayes he did not come, to tarry no longer for him, hee came, and brought an Indian from a Province, which was called Ochus, sixty leagues Westward from Apalache; where he had found a good Port of good depth and defense against weather. And because the Governor hoped to finde a good Countrie forward, he was very well contented. And he sent Maldonado for victuals to Havana, with order, that hee would tarrie for him at the Port of Ochus, which he had discovered, for he would goe seeke it by land: and if he should chance to stay, and not come thither that summer, that then he should returne to Havana, & should come againe the next summer after, and tarry for him at that Port: for he said he would doe none other thing but goe to seeke Ochus. Francisco Maldonado departed, and in his place for Captaine of the footemen remained John de Guzman. Of those Indians which were taken in Napetuca, the treasurer John Gaytan had a yong man, which said, that he was not of that Countrie, but of another far off toward the Sunrising, and that it was long

Ochus sixtie leagues West of Apalache.

Chap. 11.

since he had travelled to see Countries; and that his Countrie was called Yupaha, and that a woman did governe it: and that the Towne where shee was resident was of a wonderfull bignesse, and that many Lords round about were tributaries to her: and some gave her clothes, and others Gold in abundance: and he told, how it was taken out of the Mines, and was moulten & refined, as if he had seene it done, or the Divell had taught it him. So that all those which knew any thing concerning the same, said that it was impossible to give so good a relation, without having seene it: And all of them, as if they had seene it, by the signes that he gave, beleeved all that he said to be true. *Abundance of Gold.*

On Wednesday the third of March, of the yeere 1540. the Governour departed from Anaica Apalache to seeke Yupaha. He commanded his men to goe provided with Maiz for sixtie leagues of desert. The horsemen carried their Maiz on their horses, and the footemen at their sides: because the Indians that were for service, with their miserable life that they lead that winter, being naked and in chaines, died for the most part. Within foure dayes journey they came to a great River: and they made a piragua or ferrie boate, and because of the great current, they made a cable with chaines, which they fastened on both sides of the River; and the ferrie boate went along by it, and the horses swam over, being drawne with capstans. Having passed the River, in a day and a halfe they came to a Towne called Capachiqui. Upon Friday, the eleventh of March, they found Indians in armes. The next day five Christians went to seeke morters, which the Indians have to beate their Maiz, and they went to certaine houses on the backe-side of the Campe environed with a wood: and within the wood were many Indians which came to spie us; of the which came other five and set upon us. One of the Christians came running away, giving an alarme unto the Campe. Those which were most ready answered the alarme. They found one Christian dead, and three sore wounded. *Death of Indian slaves.* *A great River.* *Capachiqui.*

The Indians fled unto a lake adjoyning neere a very thicke wood, where the horses could not enter. The Governour departed from Capachiqui, and passed through a desert. On Wednesday the twenty one of the moneth he came to a Towne called Toalli: And from thence forward there was a difference in the houses. For those which were behinde us were thatched with straw, and those of Toalli were covered with reedes, in manner of tiles. These houses are very clenly. Some of them had wals daubed with clay, which shewed like a mudwall. In all the cold Countries the Indians have every one a house for the winter daubed with clay within & without, and the doores is very little; they shut it by night, and make fire within, so that they are in it as warme as in a stove: and so it continueth all night that they neede not cloathes: and besides these, they have others for Summer; and their kitchins neere them, where they make fire and bake their bread; and they have barbacoas wherein they keepe their Maiz; which is an house set up in the aire upon foure stakes, boorded about like a chamber, and the floore of it is of cane hurdles. The difference which Lords or principall mens houses have from the rest, besides they be greater, is, that they have great galleries in their fronts, & under them seates made of canes in manner of benches: and round about them they have many lofts, wherein they lay up that which the Indians doe give them for tribute, which is Maiz, Deeres skins, and mantles of the Countrie, which are like blankets: they make them of the inner rinde of the barkes of trees, & some of a kinde of grasse like unto nettles, which being beaten, is like unto flaxe. The women cover themselves with these Mantles; they put one about them from the waste downeward; and another over their shoulder, with their right arme out, like unto the Egyptians. The men weare but one Mantle upon their shoulders after the same manner; and have their secrets hid with a Deeres skin, made like a linnen breech, which was wont to be used in Spaine. The skins are

[IV. viii. 1536.] *Toalli.*

Their houses for winter and summer.

A grasse like flaxe.

well corried, and they give them what colour they list, so perfect, that if it be red, it seemeth a very fine cloath in graine, and the blacke is most fine: and of the same leather they make shooes; and they dye their Mantles in the same colours. The Governor departed from Toalli the foure and twentieth of March: he came on Thursday at evening to a small River, where a bridge was made whereon the people passed, and Benit Fernandez a Portugall fell off from it, and was drowned. As soone as the Governour had passed the River, a little distance thence he found a Towne called Achese. The Indians had notice of the Christians; they leaped into a River: some men and women were taken; among which was one that understood the youth which guided the Governour to Yupaha: whereby that which he had reported was more confirmed. For they had passed through Countries of divers languages, and some which he understood not. The Governour sent by one of the Indians that were taken to call the Cacique, which was on the other side of the River. He came. The Governour told him that he was the Sonne of the Sunne, and came from those parts where hee dwelt, and travelled through that Countrie, and sought the greatest Lord, and richest Province that was in it. The Cacique told him, that farther forward dwelt a great Lord, and that his dominion was called Ocute. He gave him a guide and an Interpreter for that Province. The Governour commanded his Indians to be set free, and travelled through his Countrie up a River very well inhabited. Hee departed from his Towne the first of April; and left a very high crosse of Wood set up in the middest of the market place: and because the time gave no more leasure, hee declared to him onely, that that crosse was a memoriall of the same, whereon Christ, which was God and man, and created the heavens and the earth, suffered for our salvation: therefore he exhorted them that they should reverence it: and they made shew as though they would doe so. The fourth of Aprill they passed by a Town called Atamaca, and the tenth of the

Excellent colours.

A small River.

Achese.

Soto pretends to be the Son of the Sunne.

A River very well inhabited.

Manner of Spaniards praying.

Atamaca.

Ocute. moneth he came to Ocute. The Cacique sent him two thousand Indians with a present, to wit, many Conies, & Partridges, bread of Maiz, two Hens, and many Dogs: which among the Christians were esteemed as if they had beene fat Wethers, because of the great want of flesh meate and Salt, and hereof in many places, and many times was great neede; and they were so scarce, that if a man fell sicke, there was nothing to cherrish him withall; and with a sicknesse, that in another place easily might have beene remedied, he consumed away till nothing but skinne and bones were left: and they died of pure weakenesse, some of them saying, If I had a slice of meate, or a few cornes of Salt, I should not die. And because they were thus scanted of flesh, when six hundred men that went with Soto, came to any Towne, and found thirty or forty Dogs, he that could get one and kill it, thought himselfe no small man: and he that killed it, and gave not his Captaine one quarter, if he knew it, he frowned on him, and made him feele it, in the watches, or in any other matter of labour that was offered, wherein he might doe him a displeasure. On Monday, the twelth of Aprill, the Governour departed from Ocute: The Cacique gave him two hundred Tamenes, to wit, Indians to carrie burdens: he passed through a Towne, the Lord whereof was named Cosaqui, and came to a Province of an Indian Lord, called Patofa.

Conies, Partriges, Hens, Dogges.

Cosaqui.

Patofa.

An excellent Countrie for fiftie leagues.

This Countrie, from the first peaceable Cacique, unto the Province of Patofa, which were fiftie leagues, is a fat Countrie, Beautifull, and very fruitfull, and very well watered, and full of good Rivers. And from thence to the Port de Spirito Santo, where we first arrived in the land of Florida (which may be 350. leagues, little more or lesse) is a barren land, and the most of it groves of wilde Pine-trees, low and full of lakes, and in some places very high and thicke groves, whither the Indians that were in armes fled, so that no man could finde them, neither could any horses enter into them.

Barren Countrie.

In the Towne of Patofa, the youth which the Gover-

nour carried with him for an Interpretour and a guide, began to fome at the mouth, and tumble on the ground, as one possessed with the Divell: They said a Gospell over him; and the fit left him. And he said, that foure daies journie from thence toward the Sunne rising, was the Province that hee spake of. The Indians of Patofa said, that toward that part they knew no habitation; but that toward the Northwest, they knew a Province which was called Coço, a very plentifull Countrie, which had very great Townes in it. The Cacique told the Governour, that if he would goe thither, he would give him guides and Indians for burdens; and if he would goe whither the youth spake of, that hee would likewise give him those that he needed: and so with loving words and offers of courtesie, they tooke their leaves the one of the other. He gave him seven hundred Indians to beare burdens. He tooke Maiz for foure dayes journie. He travelled six daies by a path which grew narrow more and more, till it was lost altogether: He went where the youth did lead him, and passe two Rivers which were waded: each of them was two crossebowshot over: the water came to the stirrops, and had so great a current, that it was needefull for the horsemen to stand one before another, that the footemen might passe above them leaning unto them. He came to another River of a greater current and largenesse, which was passed with more trouble, because the horses did swim at the comming out about a lances length. Having passed this River, the Governour came to a grove of Pine-trees, and threatned the youth, and made as though hee would have cast him to the dogs, because he had told him a lye, saying, it was but foure daies journie, and they had travelled nine, every day seven or eight leagues, and the men by this time were growne wearie and weake, and the horses leane through the great scanting of the Maiz. The youth said, that he knew not where he was. It saved him that hee was not cast

[IV. viii. 1537.]

Two swift Rivers.

Another greater River.

Nine dayes journey.

to the dogs, that there was never another whom John Ortiz did understand. The Governour with them two, and with some horsemen and footemen, leaving the Campe in a grove of Pinetrees, travelled that day five or six leagues to seeke a way, and returned at night very comfortlesse, and without finding any signe of way or towne. The next day, the Governour sent other foure with as many horsemen that could swim, to passe the Ose and Rivers which they should finde, and they had choise horses the best that were in the Campe. The Captaines were Baltasar de Gallegos, which went up the River; and John Danusco, downe the River: Alfonso Romo, and John Rodriguez Lobillo went into the inward parts of the land. The Governour brought with him into Florida thirteene Sowes, and had by this time three hundred Swine: Hee commanded every man should have halfe a pound of Hogs flesh every day: and this he did three or foure dayes after the Maiz was spent. With this small quantitie of flesh, and some sodden hearbes, with much trouble the people were sustained. John Danusco came on Sunday late in the evening, and brought newes that hee had found a little Towne twelve or thirteene leagues from thence: he brought a Woman and a Boy that he had tooke there. With his comming and with those newes, the Governour and all the rest were so glad, that they seemed at that instant to have returned from death to life. Upon Monday, the twenty six of Aprill, the Governour departed to goe to the Towne, which was called Aymay; and the Christians named it the Towne of Reliefe. He left where the Campe had lien at the foote of a Pinetree a letter buried, and letters carved in the barke of the Pine, the contents whereof was this: Digge here at the foot of this Pine, and you shall finde a letter. And this he did, because when the Captaines came, which were sent to seeke some habitation, they might see the letter, and know what was become of the Governour, and which way hee was

The great increase of swine.

Aymay.

gone. There was no other way to the Towne, but the markes that John Danusco left made upon the trees. The Governour with some of them that had the best horses came to it on the Monday: And all the rest inforcing themselves the best they could, some of them lodged within two leagues of the Towne, some within three and foure, every one as he was able to goe, and his strength served him. There was found in the Towne a storehouse full of the flowre of parched Maiz; and some Maiz, which was distributed by allowance. Here were foure Indians taken, and none of them would confesse any other thing, but that they knew of none other habitation. The Governor commanded one of them to be burned; and presently another confessed, that two daies journie from thence, there was a Province that was called Cutifa-Chiqui. Upon Wednesday came the Captaines Baltasar de Gallegos, Alfonso Romo, and John Rodriguez Lobillo: for they had found the letter, and followed the way which the Governour had taken toward the towne. As soone as they came, he departed toward Cutifa-Chiqui. In the way three Indians were taken, which said, that the Lady of that Countrie had notice already of the Christians, and staied for them in a Towne of hers.

An Indian burned for his falsehood.

Within a little while the Lady came out of the Towne in a Chaire, whereon certaine of the principall Indians brought her to the River. She entred into a Barge which had the Sterne tilted over, and on the floore her mat ready laied with two custions upon it one upon another, where she sat her downe; and with her came her principall Indians in other Barges, which did wait upon her. She went to the place where the Governour was. She presented unto him great store of cloathes of the Countrie, which she brought in other Canoes; to wit, Mantles and Skins; and tooke from her owne necke a great cordon of Pearles, and cast it about the necke of the Governour, entertaining him

A great cordon of Pearles.

[IV. viii. 1538.] with very gracious speeches and courtesie, and commanded Canoes to be brought thither, wherein the Governor & his people passed the River. As soon as he was lodged in the Town, she sent him another present of many Hens. This Countrie was very pleasant, fat, and hath goodly Medows by the Rivers. Their woods are thin, & full of Walnut trees & Mulberry trees. They said the Sea was two daies journy from thence. Within a league & halfe about this Towne were great Townes dispeopled, and overgrown with grasse; which shewed, that they had been long without inhabitants. The Indians said, that two yeers before there was a Plague in that Countrie, and that they removed to other Townes. There was in their store-houses great quantity of Clothes, Mantles of yarne made of the barkes of trees, and others made of Feathers, white, green, red, and yellow, very fine after their use, and profitable for winter. There were also many Deeres skins, with many compartiments traced in them, and some of them made into hose, stockings, and shooes. And the Lady perceiving that the Christians esteemed the Pearles, advised the Governour to send to search certaine graves that were in that Towne, and that he should finde many: and that if he would send to the dispeopled Townes, he might loade all his Horses. They sought the graves of that Towne, and there found foureteene rooves of Pearles, and little Babies and Birds made of them. The people were browne, well made, and well proportioned, and more civill then any others that were seene in all the Countrie of Florida, and all of them went shod and cloathed. The youth told the Governour, that he began now to enter into the land which he spake of: and some credit was given him that it was so, because hee understood the language of the Indians: and he requested that he might be Christened, for he said he desired to become a Christian: He was Christened, and named Peter; and the Governour commanded him to

They passe the River.

Walnut trees. Mulbery trees for silke.

The Sea two dayes journie off.

Mantles of the barkes of trees.

Mantles of Feathers.

Pearles found in graves.

Three hundred nintie two pounds of Pearles found.

be loosed from a chaine, in which untill that time he had gone. This Countrie, as the Indians reported, had beene much inhabited, and had the fame of a good Countrie. And as it seemeth, the youth which was the Governours guide, had heard of it, and that which hee knew by heresay, he affirmed that he had seene, and augmented at his pleasure. In this Towne was found a Dagger and Beades, that had belonged to Christians. The Indians reported, that Christians had beene in the haven, which was two dayes journie from this Towne, many yeeres agoe. He that came thither was the Governour, the Licenciate Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, which went to conquer this Countrie, and at his comming to the Port hee died; and there was a division, quarrels and slaughters betweene some principall men which went with him, for the principall government: And without knowing any thing of the Countrie, they returned home to Hispaniola. All the Company thought it good to inhabit that Countrie, because it was in a temperate climate: And that if it were inhabited, all the Ships of New Spaine, of Peru, Santa Martha, and Tierra firme, in their returne for Spaine, might well touch there: because it was in their way; and because it was a good Countrie, and sited fit to raise commoditie. The Governour, since his intent was to seeke another treasure, like that of Atabalipa Lord of Peru, was not contented with a good Countrie, nor with Pearles, though many of them were worth their weight in Gold. And if the Countrie had beene divided among the Christians, those which the Indians had fished for afterward, would have beene of more value: for those which they had, because they burned them in the fire, did leese their colour. The Governour answered them, that urged him to inhabit, That in all the Countrie, there were not victuals to sustaine his men one moneth; and that it was needefull to resort to the Port of Ocui, where Maldanado was to stay for them: and that if no richer Countrie were found, they

This Towne was but two daies journie from the haven of Santa Helena. In the yeere 1525. It is in 32. deg. and a halfe.

might returne againe to that whensoever they would; and in the meane time the Indians would sow their fields, and it would be better furnished with Maiz. He inquired of the Indians, whether they had notice of any great Lord farther into the land. They told him, that twelve daies journey from thence, there was a Province called Chiaha, subject to the Lord of Coça. Presently the Governour determined to seeke that land. And being a sterne man, and of few words, though he was glad to sift and know the opinion of all men, yet after he had delivered his owne, hee would not be contraried, and alwayes did what liked himselfe, and so all men did condescend unto his will.

Chiaha twelve daies journie from Santa Helena: and Coste seven daies journie from Chiaha: at which towne of Coste, they had an Oxe hide. Chap. 16.

END OF VOLUME XVII.

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GLASGOW

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